The Outlook

JUNE 7, 1916

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THE STORY OF THE WAR: AT VERDUN

The German forces pressed their attack to the northwest of Verdun during the week ending on May 31 with a violence which has not been surpassed during the hundred days of the fighting, while on the northeast corner—that is, in the Douaumont region—there was a comparative relaxing of effort. They held possession of the village of Cumières, to the east of Dead Man's Hill, and apparently withstood successively tremendous counter-attacks by the French. Reports at the end of the week here considered indicate gains in area by the Germans which are slight, yet quite possibly very important in accomplishing their object of outflanking Dead Man's Hill and taking possession of it. Even if Dead Man's Hill and Hill 304 are forced by the German troops, a formidable line of fortified hills would lie between them and the central point of the Verdun position; and it may once more be repeated that nothing less than a break through rather than a driving back of the French armies here concentrated will give Germany anything at all commensurate with the immense number of her soldiers put out of action.

There is some evidence that Germany means to accomplish this break through the lines, regardless of loss. Thus a Rotterdam despatch asserts that, in order "to further their frantic efforts to crash through the French lines," the Germans have been bringing up many new divisions from various points, that these include sixty thousand or more Austrian troops, and that drafts are also being made from the line in Russia. A Swiss military observer states that Germany lost over three hundred thousand men in the first three months of the series of battles around Verdun, while the French lost about one hundred and twenty thousand. If this proportion is kept up, the ultimate comparative gain to the Allies is evident, regardless of the question whether the main western line of the Allies is or is not straightened out by the driving back of the forces holding the Verdun salient.

THE AUSTRIAN OFFENSIVE

The Austrian offensive against Italy continues to present a formidable aspect. Military observers say that the way in which the attack was organized and pushed over a comparatively narrow front and with great masses of troops indicates German rather than Austrian methods of warfare, and believe that the entire movement is of German inspiration and is intended to produce political even more than military effect. A correspondent from Rome declares that the Austrian offensive in the Trentino is now (May 30) practically in abeyance, as it has reached a strong Italian line of defense prepared in advance, and adds that between May 15 and May 28 sixty-three thousand Austrians have been put out of action.

The towns of Arsiero and Asiago are seriously threatened by the Austrians as we write. These two towns are only a few miles apart, and are about fifteen miles south of the Italo-Austrian border. Their occupation would threaten Vicenza, twenty-odd miles to the south. A decisive Austrian victory in northern Italy which should include Vicenza and Verona might conceivably be the prelude to an Austrian attack on France westward from Italy. Moreover, if the Austrians reached this line, they would control important railways and would have the mountains at their back and the plains to their front. If the war were to end with the Austrians in this position, doubtless Austria would strive very hard to continue in occupation of the territory gained. All this, however, is highly speculative, and undoubtedly Italy will gather all possible force to resist the invasion thus threatened.

BULGARIA AND GREECE

One of the most important recent developments in the war has been the invasion of Greek territory by Bulgarian forces. Accounts

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as to what occurred differ surprisingly. According to one version, Greece consented to the occupation of one or more forts on the Greek side of the Rupeli Pass, but a considerable force of Bulgarians, perhaps twenty-five thousand strong, not only occupied these forts before the Greeks had left them, thereby causing some actual fighting, but pushed forward in the direction of Kavala, and it is evident that they are preparing to resist any advance of the Allies from Salonika, or perhaps to attack the Allies' lines.

The unhappy condition of Greece becomes more and more evident. Probably a majority of Greeks believe that the time has come for Greece to enter the war on the side of the Allies; and the return to actual power of the popular Greek leader, Venizelos, seems imminent. The invasion by Bulgaria was followed by demonstrations of anger in Athens against Greece's former ally and also former enemy, and as we write it is at least possible that the King and his political followers may bow before the storm, although there is an equal probability of an attempt by them to preserve that peculiar and nominal neutrality which now seems to consist of yielding to the pressure of either of the warring foreign forces now in Greek territory whenever that pressure becomes critical.

GENERAL GALLIENI

General Gallieni, the famous and beloved former French Minister of War, died in Paris on May 27. No man, not even General Joffre, has been more a national hero than General Gallieni, who was entitled "the savior of Paris" after his splendid efforts when the Germans were within a few miles of the French capital. When he retired from office not long ago on account of ill health, there were rumors that the real reason was political, but in this case they were absolutely without foundation. His achievements as Military Governor of Paris and as Minister of War were extraordinary, and his patriotism was of the type which combines solid industry with intense love of country. A discussion of General Gallieni's character and ability was published, together with a portrait, in The Outlook of April 5.

SUBMARINE WARFARE

Two reports have recently appeared in cabled despatches of alleged instances in which submarines belonging to the Allies have attacked enemy ships without warning or otherwise contrary to recognized international law. In one of these cases a French submarine was said to have attacked an Austrian passenger steamer; in another, a submarine (presumably Russian) is said to have shelled the German steamer Kolga (presumably a freight steamship) after she had stopped, and to have torpedoed her before the crew had left the ship.

These reports have not been very definite or complete and should not be accepted without confirmation. They make it proper, however, to say: first, that every violation of the clearly recognized law of nations on the high seas should be condemned without reference to the nationality of the offender; second, that there is a difference between one or two individual offenses not committed under general orders and a large number of such offenses committed as part of a set and announced policy—in the latter case the violation of law and the destruction of human life are the guilty acts of the nation and not of the individual, in the former case they may be the reverse; third, that where recognized international law has been thrown to the winds by one nation, as has been done by Germany in her submarine warfare, it is a regrettable but natural result that it ceases to have full force with those countries which are in a death grapple with the offending nation—only neutral nations can have influence in this state of things, and their influence to be effective must prevail with the prime offender, and so to prevail it must be an influence backed by preparedness and, if necessary, ultimate use of force.

THE NOTE ON AMERICAN MAILS

Secretary Lansing's note to Great Britain on the treatment of American mail matter lays down general principles that are accepted as sound by all concerned—the real question being just how these principles shall be *applied* to the peculiar circumstances now existing. When, therefore, the note goes on to say that "nothing less will satisfy this Government" than that Great Britain and France should obey international law and custom, its author is really beating the air and using a stern-sounding but innocuous phrase to offset such former monitions as the "strict accountability" phrase once directed to Germany. English comments resent this language as "unnecessarily strong," but diplomatically insinuate that from this source strong

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action need not be feared as a sequence to strong language.

As a matter of fact, every one agrees that Americans have suffered much inconvenience and some loss from delayed mails; that, on the other hand, in the present blockade of Germany, the Allies must supervise mails, and especially parcels, or else let pass a pretty serious amount of contraband—for instance, rubber (a prime war material) has been found in the mails to total a considerable amount; and other merchandise and securities claimed by the Allies to be subject to seizure have raised important questions. The British Foreign Office admits that the delays in the earlier days of the war were excessive; it promises that under the better system now installed forty-eight hours' delay will ordinarily suffice. In short, Great Britain and France *want* to satisfy our demands, but *will not* give up their blockade privileges, preferring, if necessary, to pay off American claims through the courts in due season. It seems to us, moreover, less offensive to detain mails than to send them, along with helpless noncombatants, to the bottom of the sea, as Germany has done.

CARRANZA'S DEMANDS

The tone of the note formally presented last week to our State Department and signed by the Mexican Secretary of State is such as to make future friendly relations between the Carranza government and the United States all but impossible. It in plain language charges President Wilson's Administration with bad faith and unfairness. Carranza says that our first military expedition into Mexico crossed the border without the consent of the Mexican Government; that our Government declared its only purpose to be to pursue and capture bandits, and that, although the bandits have been dispersed, the United States refuses to withdraw its troops or to agree to Mexican demands that American operations in Mexico should be confined to a limited zone; that when the Glen Springs assault on an American garrison took place Mexico refused to permit our troops to enter its territory, and that the expedition into Mexico which followed was a violation of the rights of a sovereign nation; that Mexico is convinced that "something more than a mere error is involved." Mexico now requests "the American Government to order immediate withdrawal of these new forces and to abstain completely from sending any other expedition of a similar character." Further, the note remonstrates sharply and severely against the refusal of our Government to allow the importation into Mexico of arms and ammunition, or even of certain machinery to be used in munitions factories. Carranza, through his secretary, Aguilar, now asks that "the American Government should frankly express its true purposes towards Mexico" and "formally invites" the United States to support its profession of amity with action to convince Mexico of its sincerity, adding, "This action in the present situation cannot be other than the immediate withdrawal of the American troops which are now in Mexican territory."

The seriousness of the situation thus raised is evident. President Wilson has recognized Carranza as the head of affairs in Mexico. Naturally he must look to Carranza to preserve peace and to protect life there. This Carranza practically admits he cannot do; but, at the same time, threatens war if we even attempt to punish murder and arson committed on our own soil. Either we must grasp the Mexican thistle firmly or we must retreat ignominiously. That has been the case from the first, and that the present Administration has not seen it is the radical defect in its Mexican policy. Will it see it now?

THE ARMY BILL

Last week we referred editorially to the most important defect of the Hay-Chamberlain Army Bill, which is before the President as we write, namely, the provisions for the pay of militia officers. Here we wish to point out some of the features of that bill which are of value.

The most noteworthy is the provision for the enlargement of the regular army. The word enlargement is misleading, for even when the army is raised to the full strength provided for in the bill it will still be a very small army indeed, totally inadequate except as part of a first line of defense. There is a difference in the estimates as to the number of men in the army as provided for in this bill, because there is a difference of opinion as to whether certain bodies should be counted in the regular army or not. A conservative estimate is that the peace fighting strength of the army would be 160,000 regulars. The President is authorized to increase this number so that without Congressional action the total peace maximum, including such branches as the Philippine

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Scouts and over eight thousand unassigned enlisted men, may be over two hundred and fifty thousand.

The bill provides for improvement in the provisions for enlistment. A regular soldier enlists for seven years, but hereafter three of those years will be spent with the colors, and the other four years will be in the reserves. Men who have high rating can leave active service at the end of one year, and can then at once go into the reserves. Men in the reserves, who will engage in ordinary civil occupations, will be at once subject to the call to the colors in time of danger. When the plan is in full operation, the number in the reserve will be, theoretically, one-third greater than the number in the active army, so that if the color strength of the fighting force is 175,000, the reserve will provide, in addition, 233,000 trained men.

Fortunately, at the last moment the attempt to place on the General Staff a certain number of officers of the National Guard was rejected, and our General Staff will still remain composed of really first-rate professional soldiers.

Another good feature of the Army Bill is the provision which allows for the payment of expenses at the citizens' training camps. Though as a substitute for universal military service this is poor indeed, it is an advance over the present situation, for it enables men who want to know how to serve their Nation in war to learn how they may do so. At present only those who have some independent means and some leisure that they can afford to use in this way can go to such camps as Plattsburg. Of course this does not remove the objection to the volunteer system that the men who are patriotic must make sacrifices in order to perform the duty that the unpatriotic shirk. It will still be necessary for the employer of men who want to go to Plattsburg to decide whether he is willing to forego their services during this period of training, while his competitor, who is less patriotic, declines to let his men go.

The bill also undertakes to make provision for the supply of reserve officers, not only through training camps, but also through the creation of an officers' reserve corps. This will consist of citizens who, upon examination, are found to be physically, professionally, and morally qualified.

It must be remembered, however, that the enlargement of the army does not take place automatically simply because the bill has been passed. Men must be recruited. And even under the provisions of the bill the increase will not be completed until after five years.

In spite of certain merits the provisions concerning the National Guard and payment of National Guard officers are alone sufficient to raise the question whether this measure is better than none at all.

THE SHIPPING BILL

The passage of the Shipping Bill in the House of Representatives was greatly helped by the inclusion of a provision in the bill as redrafted limiting the operation of ships by the Government to a term not longer than "five years from the conclusion of the present European war." This provision won the bill almost solid Democratic support, only two Democrats refusing to vote for the measure. The vote was 211 to 161. Eight Republicans, three Progressives, one Independent, and one Socialist voted with the mass of Democrats.

As it goes to the Senate the bill provides for most of the features urged by Secretary McAdoo in the article from his pen elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook. It calls for the formation of a Shipping Board, to be composed of the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of Commerce as members *ex officio*, and five commissioners, to be named by the President and confirmed by the Senate. This Board would have power to regulate shipping rates and practices and establish and adjust rules of navigation. It would also have the power to recommend to Congress legislation calculated to benefit our merchant marine.

The principal opposition to the bill in the House focused on the provision declaring that "the Board, with the approval of the President, is authorized to have constructed and equipped in American shipyards and navy-yards or elsewhere, giving preference, other things being equal, to domestic yards, or to purchase, lease, or charter, vessels suitable, as far as the commercial requirements of the marine trade of the United States may permit, for use as naval auxiliaries or army transports, or for other naval or military purposes."

Other sections of the bill give the Board power to "charter, lease, or sell to any person, a citizen of the United States, any vessel so purchased, constructed, or transferred." But if the Board believes that actual opera-

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tion of ships by the Government is needed, it may form a corporation under the laws of the District of Columbia for this purpose, with a capital stock not exceeding $50 000,000. And the Government through the Board, may own and control "not less than a majority" of the capital stock. The stock is to be paid for by the sale of Panama Canal bonds.

Then follows the clause limiting the Government's ownership of these vessels to a period ending five years after the close of the European war.

Another noteworthy feature of the bill provides that any merchant ship bought, leased, or chartered from the Shipping Board may be listed by the Secretary of the Navy as a vessel of the Naval Auxiliary Reserve, and the officers and crew of such ship may, if they desire, be enrolled with appropriate rank in any naval reserve force established by law.

Even as revised the bill, it seems to us, has the particularly dangerous features, both as regards present international complications and domestic economic progress, which we pointed out when it was before Congress last year.

MR. RUBLEE AND SENATORIAL COURTESY

The Senate of the United States has now twice declined to confirm President Wilson's nomination of Mr. George Rublee as Trade Commissioner.

Politically Mr. Rublee was appointed to the Commission as a Progressive. Personally Mr. Rublee was appointed because of specific ability for the work in hand.

So far as we know, there has been no denial of his ability. It would seem, then, as if the reason for the Senate's objection to his nomination rested on the ground that he is a Progressive, and hence without the support of either of the great political machines.

This may have had something to do with it. But the reason given for the rejection is that curious cause known as "Senatorial courtesy." It operates as follows: Should a Senator object to an appointment of a resident of his State the other Senators will agree with him in refusing to confirm the appointment.

What has been the result? Appointments are really made by the Senate, not by the President. And appointments are too often made, not so much because of a man's fitness for the job, as because of his value to some State political organization.

This in general. But Mr. Rublee's case, in particular, is outrageously flagrant. His only violent opponent, so far as we know, is the Hon. Jacob H. Gallinger, Senator from New Hampshire. Mr. Gallinger alleges that Mr. Rublee, of New Hampshire, is "personally obnoxious" to him. We have not heard of any expression used by Mr. Rublee with regard to Mr. Gallinger which would seem to justify the phrase "personally obnoxious." But that makes no difference. It is sufficient for Mr. Gallinger to know that Mr. Rublee opposed the Gallinger candidacy for the United States Senate, and that Mr. Rublee regards Mr. Gallinger as a reactionary. Besides, Mr. Gallinger may claim that the Trade Commission as it stands is composed of good men and does not need the additional and special service which the President thinks Mr. Rublee might give—because Mr. Rublee had anticipated a proper administrative enforcement of the laws of commerce and had helped to frame the legislation for a Trade Commission!

We are supposed to have fairly proper civil service rules in this country. Indeed, the merit system certainly has made progress. The law establishing that system was passed by Congress. Yet here we see members of the upper branch of Congress practically conspiring to check the merit system, and the President of the United States impotent in any desire he may have to increase the influence of that system simply because he cannot secure the confirmation of any one not recommended by a Senator.

In the present instance President Wilson and Mr. Rublee will assuredly have the sympathy of all right-thinking men.

PATRIOTIC PARADES

There is something fundamentally and conclusively impressive about a well-organized parade. This is well known to the young men of American colleges whose favorite means of expressing emotion is what they call a "pee-rade." This power of the parade rests, no doubt, on two things—namely, the potent influence of mass action and the virtue of the old truth that actions speak louder than words.

The echo of the two hundred and forty thousand feet that tramped up New York

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City's most fashionable traffic canyon in the great Preparedness Parade there on May 13 has been heard in other American cities as far apart and as dissimilar as Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Boston, Massachusetts.

Forty thousand was the official estimate of the number of persons that marched in Boston for the same principles that brought out more than one hundred and twenty thousand "hikers" in New York.

Nominally different but fundamentally much the same as these demonstrations was the pilgrimage of twenty-five hundred persons to the home of Theodore Roosevelt at Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay. Two thousand of these trampers who made the three-mile hike between the Oyster Bay railway station and Mr. Roosevelt's house had come from New York on three special trains. The pilgrimage was under the auspices of the Roosevelt Non-Partisan League. It was fundamentally similar to the Preparedness Parade, because in attesting their desire that the former President should again lead his country the twenty-five hundred marchers professed to be actuated by a desire to support the same principles for which the other thousands paraded in Boston and New York. As they declared vociferously in their marching song:

"We'll vote for Theodore Roosevelt because we know that he'll be true,
He loves our starry banner—our own red, white, and blue;
We know that he'll defend it from the enemy in view,
As we go marching on."

The crowd that walked to Sagamore Hill was a typical Roosevelt crowd. It contained such men of prominence in widely various fields of life as Oscar S. Straus, capitalist and former Progressive candidate for the Governorship of New York; Richard M. Hard, President of the Lawyers' Mortgage Company; Charles Dana Gibson, the illustrator; and Mike Donovan, ex-pugilist and Mr. Roosevelt's quondam boxing instructor.

The force of such potent expressions of popular opinion as these spontaneous demonstrations may perhaps penetrate even to such ordinarily remote regions as Congress and the inner managing group of political nominating conventions.

MAYOR MITCHEL AND HIS ENEMIES

A good many people have been confused in regard to the investigation of the practice of wire-tapping by the New York police. They have lost sight of the real issues involved in the controversy between the Mitchel administration and certain of its opponents which has resulted in the wire-tapping exposures. We reported the facts of the controversy last week, but as the quarrel continues, with the effort of some of the Mayor's opponents to befog the real issues, it becomes increasingly important to emphasize the principles that are involved.

For the prevention of crime and the detection of criminals it is necessary, even in a democracy like ours, for the police to have the power of espionage.

For the right use of this power the police ought to be commended. For the wrong use of it they ought to be condemned.

Two entirely separate cases of the use of this power in spying over the telephone wires have been investigated by the Thompson Committee. The police have not yet proved to the satisfaction of The Outlook that they were entirely justified in tapping the wires of the reputable law firm of Seymour & Seymour. In a letter to Mr. Frank Moss, counsel of the Thompson Committee, the Seymours have asked that the police publish what they learned as the result of spying on the Seymours or announce that their suspicion of the law firm was unfounded. This seems to us a fair proposal.

But it seems to The Outlook that the police were justified in tapping the wires of Father Farrell and his lay associates, Dr. D. C. Potter and his son, Dean Potter. It is particularly important that in its comprehension of this case the public mind should be clear.

When Mayor Mitchel came into office, he had reason to believe that the funds given by the city for the partial support of twenty-two thousand children in private charitable institutions were not being properly used for that purpose. He ordered Charities Commissioner Kingsbury to make an investigation. The evidence before the Thompson Committee has shown that there was an effort on the part of certain members of the Catholic hierarchy and certain laymen associated with them to block this investigation.

The issue in this case is not the ethics of wire-tapping, as Monsignor John J. Dunn, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of New York, says it is. The issue is whether the money of the people of New York is being properly spent for the humane treatment and proper

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From Le Pêle-Mêle (Paris)

The Valet: "Would Monsieur have the kindness to surrender?"

THE FORCE OF HABIT

From Le Rire (Paris)

"If you cry, you will never be a soldier when you grow up."
"I don't care; the war will be over then."

THE FOREBODINGS OF YOUTH

From the Bystander (London)

THE USUAL COMPLAINT

Suburbanite: "Well, what is it really like in the trenches?
Tommy: "Oh, it wouldn't be so bad if it wasn't for the people over the way."

THOSE DISAGREEABLE NEIGHBORS

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HE'S GOOD ENOUGH FOR ME

In 1904 this cartoon by the late Homer Davenport was printed in the New York "Evening Mail." It attracted wide attention as a telling interpretation of the National feeling

HE'S GOOD ENOUGH FOR ALL

A few days ago this cartoon by Robert Carter appeared in the New York "Evening Sun." Its adaptation of the older cartoon to the present situation is ingenious and forceful

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care of the twenty-two thousand little children in the private institutions of the city.

And the issue is whether the electorate that chose John Purroy Mitchel as Mayor is to tolerate an attempt by a small group of citizens to obstruct the administration of justice by the man who was chosen by the people to enforce their laws.

It is fortunate that Mayor Mitchel is a Roman Catholic. Thus we are spared that most odious of all controversies, a religious quarrel. But the political opponents of Mayor Mitchel have not been slow to seize this opportunity to drag him down. Let all Catholics, Jews, and Protestants who believe that an office-holder ought to be fearless in fulfilling the vows of his office now unite to back him up.

WOMEN, FIRE PREVENTION, AND ADVERTISING

Our attention has been called to a controversy between the city of Philadelphia and the well-known firm of Messrs. Gimbel Brothers which will soon be brought into the Philadelphia courts. It involves the question of fire prevention. Prompted by some recent great fire disasters, in which a number of working women and girls lost their lives, an Alumnæ Committee of Bryn Mawr College was formed for the study of fire prevention in factories and shops where women and girls are employed. This Committee alleges that a part of the large establishment of Messrs. Gimbel Brothers does not come up to the fireproof standards which are required by the present city ordinances of Philadelphia. The Committee has issued a circular which states that the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade, and the Bureau of Municipal Research have adopted resolutions supporting the city of Philadelphia in its proceedings against Messrs. Gimbel Brothers. The Committee, moreover, asserts that the case of the city against Gimbel Brothers has been on the court calendars for two years without being tried; that five thousand persons, largely women and children, are employed by the firm, and that as many more persons daily visit the store; that the danger is not only to the employees, but to the public and to the neighborhood; and that property owners near by the Gimbel store pay from $75,000 to $125,000 a year extra insurance because of its menace. We ought to add that a Philadelphia critic of Gimbel Brothers, with whom we have been in communication, says that, in all fairness to this well-known department store, it should be admitted that "they have instituted a fire drill, a sprinkler system, and watchman service," as well as other fire prevention methods.

In order to understand both sides of the controversy, The Outlook asked Messrs. Gimbel Brothers for information regarding this case from their point of view. They have courteously informed us that the best legal advisers they can obtain state that they are not violating either technically or in equity the city ordinances, and that certain architectural and insurance experts are of the opinion that they have done all that is required by either the law or the best humane considerations for the welfare of their employees. They further say that the case is now coming into court, and that at the trial all the facts in controversy will be brought out, and claim, we think with reason, that judgment regarding the controversy should be suspended until after the trial. In this we concur, and therefore advise any of our readers who may be interested to watch the proceeding of the trial and to await its issue.

There is one aspect of the case which has nothing to do with fire dangers, but which reveals another serious social danger in many American communities. We refer to the alleged muzzling of the newspapers by powerful advertisers. The Bryn Mawr Committee in their letter to us say: "We have wrestled in vain, you will hardly be surprised to hear, with the Philadelphia papers to take the matter up; they refuse to mention the name of Gimbel save in the way of kindness!"

The situation thus hinted at is not confined to Philadelphia nor to this particular controversy. Is there not a latent public evil here which the Associated Advertising Clubs might do well to discuss frankly at their great annual convention?

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

A great democratic organization of American women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, has just held its thirteenth Biennial Convention in New York City. It is estimated that in the neigborhood of twenty thousand women from all parts of the country attended the "Biennial," as the Convention was universally and even affectionately called by the delegates. The Women's Clubs represented in the Federation have a combined membership of nearly three millions.

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The public meetings, round table conferences. and committee sessions of the Biennial covered a period of ten days, and the Seventh Regiment Armory, transformed for the purpose into one of the largest auditoriums in the city, was hardly spacious enough to hold the audiences of women who desired to attend the general gatherings of the Federation. Some idea of the size of this Convention of women may be gained from the photograph reproduced in the pictorial section of this issue of The Outlook.

So much for the statistics of this great gathering. If it possessed nothing but size and numbers it would be significant, for when women can unite to the number of two or three millions for a common purpose and manage a congress of ten or fifteen or twenty thousand delegates and representatives, the mere magnitude of the undertaking arrests attention as a feat of organization, if nothing more.

But the spirit of the Federation, and it may be assumed that the spirit is the result of a definite purpose, represents something very much larger and deeper than a mere gregarious notion of "getting together" on a grand scale. The retiring President of the Federation, Mrs. Pennybacker, has expressed the underlying spirit of the Federation as that of service—by which we take it she means the co-operative service rendered by the women members to the villages, cities, counties, States, or the nation in which they live. All sorts of women's clubs belong to the General Federation—Village Improvement Societies, Art Clubs, Literary Societies, Sewing Circles, Professional and Business Associations, Social Clubs, Educational Groups, etc., etc. The purpose of the General Federation of Women's Clubs is to give all these varied groups of women a general basis, a common meeting-ground, a feeling of solidarity, to the end that there may be promoted "a higher type of citizenship, a better public spirit, and a more alert social consciousness."

HOW THE FEDERATION AFFECTS SOCIAL LIFE

Now we are relating all this, not for the benefit of our women readers. who probably know much more about it than we do ourselves, but for the enlightenment of some of our men readers who unfortunately are altogether too ignorant or inappreciative of the effective co-operative work which the women of the United States are doing for the general social good entirely outside of the domain of political action. The programme of the ten days' Biennial Convention was a remarkable revelation to some of the men who were fortunate enough to be invited guests at various meetings. It was a pamphlet or book of many pages, and afforded a remarkable bird's-eye view of the variety and scope of the work of the Federation.

The organization is Federal in its nature. The separate clubs are combined into local federations, then into State federations, and, lastly, into a National or General Federation. The administrative work of the General Federation is done through departments and sub-departments. Art, Civics, Education, Home Economics, Literature, Legislation, Industrial Conditions, Music, Public Health, and Child Labor are some of the departmental divisions, each having its logical subdivisions. Thus a woman who is interested in æsthetics will find her appropriate place in the work for the promotion of art, while the woman who thinks sanitary garbage collection is the question of the hour in her community will find her active interest in the Department of Public Health. The women who attended the Biennial heard formal addresses and informal talks from experts, both men and women, in the various departments of the Federation's activities, and we venture to say that not a woman delegate went away without a determination to pass along to her fellow-members in her home club some of the encouragement, inspiration, and new knowledge which she received. The Federation does not rest content with the information and interchange of ideas which it provides every two years. It is between times constantly circulating literature, circulars, and letters keeping its subsidiary clubs informed of the progress of all the forms of social, community, and legislative work in which its members are interested.

All in all, the General Federation of Women's Clubs must be regarded, not only as a very significant sign of the times, but as a great instrument of social progress. It means better homes, better schools, better arts and crafts, better legislation for women and children, and a broadening intelligence and a more comprehensive point of view for American women. If there is any general federation that is doing an equal amount of effective work along civic

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and community lines for men, we have not yet heard of it. The United States Chamber of Commerce, which carries its Nation-wide referendums among business men, is perhaps the nearest approach to the federated community work of the women. But the programme and scope of the United States Chamber of Commerce are limited when compared with the varied activities and interests of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. We take our hats off to the women in token of our admiration for the ability and skill which they have shown in the construction and administration of this great organization.

PRESIDENT DWIGHT, OF YALE

The sudden death, at New Haven on May 26, of ex-President Timothy Dwight, of Yale University, at the age of eighty-seven, recalls to thousands of Yale men, not only the scholar and theologian, but a gentle, tolerant, and sympathetic personality, not austere or narrow—often humorous and always modest. Dr. Dwight's administration stood, in a way, between the Old Yale and the New Yale, between the college reaching out toward university completeness and the equipped, modern university.

No one by temperament and taste could have been less of the "money-getter" type of college president than Dr. Dwight, but he worked unceasingly to enlarge Yale's opportunities. When it became known that he turned back his own salary, that he supplied the college pulpit without charge, and that he even acted as treasurer to reduce expenses, others put their shoulders to the wheels, and in the thirteen years of his presidency (1886 to 1898) the permanent fund more than doubled (he contributed $100,000 personally), the buildings increased like magic, the Faculty was strengthened and broadened, the title of University was secured by law and justified by fact, the elective system, previously tested timidly and tentatively, became firmly established. He retired at the age of seventy, in accordance with his long-held belief that no university president should serve as such beyond that time.

The name of Dwight is famous in American educational and literary annals. The grandfather of the Timothy Dwight who has just died bore the same name and was President of Yale for twenty-two years. That earlier Dr. Dwight was himself a grandson of Jonathan Edwards. Theodore W. Dwight, long President of the Columbia Law School, was another illustrious member of the Dwight family.

It would take a column to record the list of President Dwight's honors and of his books in his special field; notable were his writings as one of the once famous editors of the "New Englander," his membership of the American Biblical Revision Committee, his editing of the Commentaries by Meyer and by Godet, and his "Memories of Yale Life."

THE PRESBYTERIAN CONFLICT

The conflict of reactionary with progressive theologians was renewed, May 18–26, in the Assembly at Atlantic City, New Jersey, more threateningly than heretofore. Instead of Union Seminary, the New York Presbytery was the object of attack as its stronghold. Besides various overtures against the one or the other from a half-dozen or more presbyteries, fifteen identical overtures praying for effective discipline of the New York Presbytery were presented by presbyteries from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. This unprecedented coalition had been so heralded in the daily press as to rouse wide public interest in its issue.

That the majority of the Assembly was bent on pacific treatment appeared at the outset in its choice of Moderator. The candidate of the coalition, Dr. W. L. McEwan, of Pittsburgh, advocated as hostile to "the poison of unbelief," polled 237 votes against 616 for Dr. John A. Marquis, President of Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, widely esteemed as conciliatory and judicious.

While the batch of overtures was in the hands of the usual Committee, a pamphlet in their support, entitled "Critical Scholarship *versus* the Bible," was distributed by irresponsible outsiders. Its author, Dr. John Fox, of New York, states the vital question at issue thus: "Is the whole Bible the Word of God? Do we want a new Bible with scholarship?" The present crisis he described as follows: "The U boats of unbelief have fired another torpedo at the Bible, blown the very bottom out of the book of Exodus, the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Gospel of St. Luke, leaving the hapless men, women, and children of the churches to take to boats, rafts, and wreckage as they struggle on the tossing ocean of doubt and negation."

The Committee, after several days of conference, reported that both parties deprecated continued agitation as bringing reproach upon

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the Church and injury to Christian interests; also that the Presbytery of New York regretted that exaggerated and misleading press reports of their licensing candidates for the ministry whose essential soundness in faith they now reaffirmed had given rise to the drastic proposals of their brethren. The Committee concluded by enjoining on all presbyteries strict conformity to the Declaration of 1910. This, occasioned by a similar case in the New York Presbytery, concurs with Dr. Fox in asserting as the first of truths to be maintained the inerrancy of the Bible. On the other hand, no fault is found with the Presbytery for its recent nonconformity. The apple of discord is cleverly cut and a half awarded to each claimant.

This unanimous report to the Assembly was immediately rushed through to unanimous adoption without discussion. The complainants are theoretically justified, the presbytery is practically vindicated, and both parties express satisfaction!

The case against Union Seminary was disposed of the next day by appointing an investigating committee to report in 1917. A similar expedient was adopted in 1913, but nothing came of it. The case of Auburn Seminary will then also come up. This, distinctively liberal since its foundation by the "new school" Presbyterians in 1820, has given notice of intention to withdraw, like Union, from Assembly control.

Thus closed a quarter-century of intermittent theological fever, beginning with the prosecution of Professor Briggs in 1891, and soon afterwards of Professors Smith and McGiffert. In 1903 the adoption as the "working creed" of the Church of a "Brief Statement of the Reformed faith," notably purged of all points of controversy, was hailed as ending a century of strife. But between those who affirm and those who deny that theology is improvable conflict is inevitable. As one Presbyterian clergyman who attended the General Assembly this year expressed it, "the theological constitution of the Presbyterian Church is a rigid thing, and the truth which it attempts to contain is living and growing." The long history of Christian doctrine permits no doubt of the issue in the present case.

It must not be left unsaid that the Church has had a prosperous year in the increase of its membership, the formation of new churches, and large gifts for missions and benevolence.

THE NORTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

These have been days of denominational meetings. The Methodist General Conference has been holding its sessions since the first of last month in Saratoga Springs. We have given some account of this, and a further report is printed in editorial correspondence on another page. The Northern Presbyterians have been legislating in their General Assembly at Atlantic City, New Jersey, and of this we give some account above. On the day following the close of the Presbyterian Assembly the Northern Baptist Convention began its session at Minneapolis, Minnesota, and continued from the 17th to the 24th of last month.

The Baptist churches are congregational in order. Their National meeting is therefore not an occasion for legislation as are the Methodist Conference and the Presbyterian Assembly. This Convention, however, does have a certain authority in the matter of Baptist National Missionary Societies, and, like the Congregational Council, has been a center of a growing tendency toward organization. The penalty of loose organization is inefficiency and waste. For years, for example, the American Baptist Publication Society and the American Baptist Home Mission Society have been carrying on home missionary work independently of each other in the same field. The Convention has provided for the unification of the missionary work of these two societies. The probable result will be that the Publication Society will become the exclusive publishing agency of the denomination, taking over all forms of publication now divided between itself, the Home Mission, and the Foreign Mission Societies, leaving the Home Mission Society free to control all the activities that belong to its special field. This adjustment is a part of the process toward economy and efficiency which was begun by the organization of the Convention ten years ago.

The problems of the Baptists have thus been practical, not theological. The very independent character of the Baptist churches tends to provide for that theological liberty which prevents theological controversy.

The Convention favors a higher standard of education for its ministers, and disapproves of any minister who performs the marriage ceremony in disregard of the principle laid down in the Gospels with regard to divorce.

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An interesting feature of the Convention was the rejection of a resolution favoring preparedness, not on the ground of opposition to preparedness, but on the ground that such a resolution might be subject to unfortunate political misinterpretation. The sentiment of the Convention was decidedly in favor of a reasonable preparedness programme.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

The forty-third meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction began at Indianapolis on May 10. It presented throughout its sessions at least one characteristic which is significant for all persons interested in substantial social progress. This was the eager attention paid by its members to those discussions of sound methods of work which made up the larger part of the programme as contrasted with purely descriptive or speculative papers. There was sufficient of the latter to give a sweep and a forward look to the meeting. The interest of the more than three thousand social workers in attendance, however, was clearly centered on those studies of successful methods of work in whose development and extension lies the hope of translating our social ideals and theories into solid achievement.

While the Conference has never been given over to generalities, the spirit of speculation in the field of social welfare in this country has been fostered and directed largely by its members and at its meetings. A striking change has come over the Conference during the last decade in this respect. While retaining its leadership in crystallizing unformed social ideals into definite progressive programmes, its published proceedings have included each year more and more practical scientific suggestions. In the fields of social research, community surveying, relief, medico-social work, family care, child-helping, and the correlation of public and private charitable effort alike, the query raised is not more often what to do than how to do it. Any form of organized activity must develop its tools and its technical processes before it can progress. The tools and processes of social work are being standardized and used.

Reflecting the most conspicuous social problem of the previous year, the sessions on unemployment provided some interesting suggestions. Professor William M. Leiserson, of Toledo University, advocated a National reserve board, arguing that what the Federal Reserve Board had done to mobilize money and credits a labor reserve board, working along similar lines in connection with State and municipal labor exchanges, could do for the labor supply. John R. Shillady, Secretary of the Mayor's Unemployment Committee of New York City, in a carefully prepared paper urged the planning of expenditures for more or less permanent public improvements over a period of ten years as a measure for the absorption of part of the unemployment problem which tends to become abnormal about once each decade. A new section on "The Promotion of Social Programmes" provided further evidence that the Conference members are concerned with ways and means. Lawson Purdy, of New York City, advocated an extension of the policy of special assessments for local improvements to provide for the growing cost of projects for social welfare. The question of the reduction of taxes on buildings and the increase of taxes on land will be included in the programme of next year's Conference at Pittsburgh.

FRANCE'S CRIPPLED SOLDIERS

Some three months ago we reported the formation of the American Committee for Training in Suitable Trades the Maimed Soldiers of France. Awkward though it is, this title is self-explanatory. As the result of that report in The Outlook, we are glad to say, several hundreds of dollars poured into the office of the Committee at Room B, Plaza Hotel, New York City. Each $100 is enough to educate one maimed soldier to an industrial proficiency sufficient to make him self-supporting.

These contributions came from all parts of the United States and from other countries also. One of the most interesting donations, as the result of our editorial article, was a check for $267.24 from the employees of the Cerro de Pasco Mining Company in Peru.

The readers of The Outlook who have shown their interest in this praiseworthy charity will be glad to hear that more than $80,000 has been raised since February 28. Mrs. Edmund Lincoln Baylies, the able and energetic Chairman of the Committee for the United States, tells us that "it costs from $1,500 to $3,500, according to the size, to install a school for these crippled men." The Committee is now supporting five schools and is planning more. The French Government has at least a dozen schools, and it is planned that eventually the Government will

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take over all the schools, but those now maintained by the Committee and the others which it is to establish will have to be supported by private funds until after the war.

The French Government has just given the society two pavilions in the famous Grand Palais, Champs Élysées, Paris. Here several hundred crippled soldiers are now being taught shoemaking, harness-making, locksmithing, carpentry, polishing, tinsmithing, tailoring, wig-making, hair-dressing, industrial designing, bookkeeping, and writing with the left hand for those who have lost the use of the right. This instruction is under the general direction of Dr. G. Borne, for several years the medical examiner of two of the largest accident insurance companies in France, who has devoted years of study to the problem of restoring to self-sufficiency men crippled in accidents.

It will be noticed that all the trades just mentioned are such as will be useful to the men who learn them when they return to their native villages. The Committee believes and the French Government believes that it is best for the nation and for the individual if these rehabilitated cripples can return to the rural homes from which most of them come.

What makes this work supremely valuable is that it will be permanent. The schools will be continued after the war for those injured in industrial or other accidents. Through the vast practice it has brought them surgeons have learned much of the recuperative possibilities of the human body by this world conflict. Germany, too, has made great strides in this direction. Thus mankind learns even from its greatest folly—war.

LEGALIZING MORALITY IN ADVERTISING

Unscrupulous advertising is made more perilous than ever by a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court. In the opinion which accompanies that decision the Court writes another chapter in its record of identifying good law and good morals. Substantial wrong-doing has often escaped punishment by pleading a technical defense. The reason why the Supreme Court has grown in popular confidence is that it has repeatedly shattered technical defense by directing against it a common-sense view of justice. This is particularly true of its decision and opinion in this advertising case.

A real estate company advertised the sale of lands in Florida by circulating prints, pamphlets, and other publications, as well as letters, in the United States mails. The corporation and certain individuals connected with it were indicted under United States statutes making it an offense to use the United States mails to defraud or to carry out a scheme to obtain money or property by means of false or fraudulent representations or promises. The grounds on which the allegations in the indictment were made charge the corporation and these individuals with making untrue representations concerning the land. These representations were certainly alluring. They alleged that the farms on this land were fertile, that they were divided into tracts, that roads and school-houses and fences were built, that there were no mosquitoes, that lumber was cheap, that there were telephone connections and hundreds of people had settled there, that prices had increased very greatly, that a family could make enough money on one farm during the first year for self-support besides saving money, and so on.

There was no denial in the indictment that the company owned the land or "that the land was worth fully as much as was to be obtained therefor." The lower court, therefore, held that the business was legitimate and that the Federal statute was not violated by "puffing" the qualities of the article sold. As the lower court expressed it, "raising the expectations of the purchaser, but giving that purchaser value received for his money, but not fulfilling those expectations," was not an offense against the statute.

It is this decision of the lower court that the Supreme Court has reversed.

In contrast to the more technical decision of the lower court, the United States Supreme Court holds that advertisers may be held guilty of fraudulent representation even when the goods that they deliver are worth the money they receive for them. "Mere puffing," says the United States Supreme Court—"that is, the mere exaggeration of the qualities which the article has"—might not come within the prohibition of the statute, though the Court does not express an opinion on that subject. But the Court adds: "When a proposed seller goes beyond that, assigns to the article qualities which it does not possess, does not simply magnify in opinion the advantages which it has, but invents advantages and falsely asserts their existence, he transcends the limits of 'puffing' and engages in false representations

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and pretenses." And the Supreme Court adds, in the words of Justice McKenna, who wrote this opinion: "An article alone is not necessarily the inducement and compensation for its purchase. It is in the use to which it may be put, the purpose it may serve; and there is deception and fraud when the article is not of the character or kind represented, and hence does not serve the purpose." The Court enumerated some of the representations made in this case, as, for instance, the fertility of the soil, the existence of hotels, roads, Pullman cars and other transportation facilities, and so on. And it comments: "We can entertain no doubt that those employing such representations, if they are false, have engaged in a scheme to defraud." Though this case deals only with real estate, and the opinion lays special emphasis on the greater attractiveness of inducements for purchasing small tracts for homes, the principle that the Court lays down is one which plainly applies to other kinds of articles.

Hereafter, advertisers who deliberately make false representations in their advertisements and utilize the United States mails for circulating those representations are in danger. Let unscrupulous advertisers take warning.

THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

A six months' campaign of the Laymen's Missionary Movement closed with a National Congress at Washington during the last four days of April. Sixty-nine conventions in cities throughout the country had been held, attended by over a hundred thousand paying delegates—a gain of forty-two per cent upon the campaign of 1909–10. Between these two nearly seven hundred local conferences and conventions were held, and nearly three thousand since the Movement was organized in 1906.

It believes with President Wilson that the mission of the Nation is the service of the race. It aims to inspire men to take their full share of it with the efficiency of businesslike methods applied by the genuinely Christian spirit at home and abroad. In its educational propaganda it has circulated during the decade fully five million pieces of missionary literature. One result appears in the average increase of a million dollars a year since 1906 for foreign missions alone. The large figures just quoted have a reverse side in the average increase of only one and six-tenths cents weekly per member for local church expenses, and one cent for missionary and benevolent work.

The Laymen's Missionary Movement publishes, at 1 Madison Avenue, New York, a monthly magazine, "Men and Missions." The Movement plans to go forward till the churches of the twelve co-operating denominations are fully alive to their responsibilities for the Christianizing of our country and the world.

REPUBLICAN POSSIBILITIES

When the Republican delegates assemble in Presidential convention at Chicago this week, a game will begin which may not end until the Nation's destiny is included in the stakes. In that game the delegates will not be the players. The badges which will admit about two thousand delegates and alternates to the floor of the Coliseum will signify merely that those who wear them will have the best seats among the spectators of the contest. Most of the people of the country will occupy the bleachers. A chosen few will have reserved seats where they can watch the "inside" game. The delegates will have simply the best seats of all and will form the cheering section whose action may perhaps help to determine the outcome of the game as it will encourage one group of players or another.

As in the Baltimore Democratic Convention of 1912, the real players of the game will be few in number. These are the so-called managers. Some of them will not be in sight. They have been working out their plays for weeks, if not months, but they cannot be prepared for every possible contingency. The final decision of the Convention as to candidates will not be the result of any popular vote; unless the wholly unexpected happens, it will not be even the result of the decision of the delegates who will go through the form of voting. The score will be made without consultation with the mass of the delegates. Like other players, the Old Guard Republican managers and their adherents are amenable to public sentiment. They cannot ignore the cheering section or the bleachers; but, in the last analysis, it will be the Old Guard, which secured control of the Republican organization in 1912 against the wishes of the majority of Republican voters and has retained that control, which will rule.

By temperament and by habit this Old

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Guard, stand-pat element is peculiarly unfitted to rule at a time like this. The whole training of this group inclines its members to put in office second-raters. They want men who will not do very much, and so will not alienate seriously any body of voters, and who are the sort that can be controlled. Next to a second-rater, the choice of the Old Guard would be a man like Mr. Root—a strong man, but one who has in the past shown himself sympathetic with the Old Guard point of view.

The personal preferences of the Old Guard, however, will not necessarily be decisive, for the Old Guard would like to win. Unwilling as the Old Guard may be to see the facts, they know perfectly well that Mr. Root would have great difficulty in winning, if he could win at all, and they cannot be blind to the risk of proposing a second-rater. As Mr. James R. Mann is reported to have said—and he is an organization man through and through—this is no year for a two-spot.

If the Old Guard decides to make compromise between its personal preferences and its desire to win, it may listen to the "safety first" voice of the more unprejudiced element in the organization. Under those circumstances the Old Guard will perhaps be for Justice Hughes. They know Hughes, and they know they cannot control him. They know, too, that he would not listen to the organization. They would be at straits between Colonel Roosevelt, whom men of the type of Barnes hate, but who has the organization sense and would listen to the organization, and Justice Hughes, whom they hate only a little, if at all, less, and who, according to their view, has not the organization sense.

There is another voice, however, which the Old Guard will hear, and to which it may listen. This is the voice of public opinion. More and more this voice has been expressing distrust of "pussy-footing," the "safety first" tendency. This is the result of the Roosevelt drive. It is the response to his cleavage of the issue. If this prevails, then all will go to Roosevelt.

If Roosevelt is nominated, the psychologic veil will be torn down—the veil of prejudice against him because he is of another party. The Republican party, as a whole, in the event of his nomination, would have accepted a real leader, and he would be a Republican. The small recalcitrant element in Republicanism which would die rather than surrender would be more than made up for on election day by the Democratic vote, which has always been heavy for Roosevelt. In 1912 eighty thousand Democrats voted for him in Ohio alone. In the event of his nomination, therefore, we should look for a great revulsion toward him, not only on the part of Republicans, but also on the part of others.

The nature of this public sentiment which the Old Guard will hear and to which it may listen is indicated by the fact that under Mr. Roosevelt's leadership during this year of crisis, while Americanism has been the issue, conservative Republicans have been turning toward him as the real spokesman of Republican principles. For example, a petition of seven hundred members of the Union League Club of Philadelphia was issued to their Board of Governors for the privilege of hearing Colonel Roosevelt. In 1912 the Union League Clubs of the country were greatly opposed to him. To-day there is a great change of sentiment among them.

The great danger to the Republican party as controlled by the Old Guard is to be found in the four million men who broke the party habit in 1912. Four years ago there was no Progressive party in existence. Between June and November it grew from nothing to be the second party in the Nation in number of voters. To-day the Progressive party, however much it may have lost in enrolled adherents, is in organization and in membership much nearer the goal than it was four years ago. But more than that. Even those Progressives who have now returned to the Republican fold have at any rate broken the party habit. There is a vast difference between an individual and a party in that matter. An individual may return to his former habits rather easily; but once the party habit is broken it is never as strong again. The danger to the Republican party is not so much from the Progressive organization as from the independent habit of these four millions. In certain contingencies the majority of them may quietly vote for the re-election of President Wilson.

Wilson is strong. All the evidence indicates it. The "safety first" quality, inculcated in the American people by his Administration, has sunk deep into the consciousness of many of the people, particularly in the Middle West. Nothing but a Rooseveltian fight to arouse the opposite sentiment can win for the Republicans.

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PRESIDENT WILSON AS A LEADER

The speech of President Wilson at the Convention of the League to Enforce Peace which was recently held in Washington has attracted the attention and excited the comment of the entire civilized world. It has been generally treated in the daily newspapers from the point of view of the effect it may have upon the European war. There is an inclination in many quarters to regard it as an intimation on the part of the President to the belligerent nations that the contest is proved to be a drawn battle, and that the time has come for an armistice and mediation. We do not so regard it. Even if this were the President's view, we do not believe that the allied nations who are fighting the Teutonic Powers are in a mood or a position to accept it as a suggestion of mediation. Germany began the war, and the Allies believe that she must be either victorious or brought to a position where she will sue for peace and herself ask for mediation. We prefer to take the President's speech at its face value, and in that respect it is very valuable indeed.

In the first place, it discloses the President's characteristic habit of mind as a leader of public opinion. In the second place, it makes some constructive suggestions with regard to international relations when peace comes to the world again.

With regard to the President's constructive suggestions, we welcome his indorsement of the principles and proposals of the League to Enforce Peace. The fundamental proposal of the League is that the civilized nations of the world shall associate themselves in a federation to bring all international disputes before an international court, and that if any nation attacks any other nation without first submitting the controversy to the court the combined armies and navies of the League shall defend the nation attacked and punish the attacking nation. The President supports this proposal, if not directly, at least by implication. He is of the opinion that if the American people ever join such a league it will be because they believe in the following three fundamental principles:

First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves, no doubt, once and again offended against the principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action.

Second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon.

And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

On this point every patriotic American can cordially unite with the President, because in taking this position he himself is only following enlightened American public opinion. The idea of a world court as contrasted with sporadic boards of arbitration was first defined by Edward Everett Hale at a Mohonk Conference some years ago. The idea has been more recently taken up and embodied in an organized propaganda by President Lowell, of Harvard, and ex-President Taft. President Wilson is wisely following in their footsteps.

But there remains a second phase of the speech. What shall be said of it as a disclosure of Mr. Wilson's habit of mind in discussing grave public questions? No speech that he has made during his Presidency so vividly portrays his failure to penetrate into the deep and fundamental feelings of the American people, and his proneness to accept momentary and local expressions of view as manifestations of the profound and underlying public opinion of the country. In saying this we do not forget his unhappy phrase "too proud to fight," or that in his Message of December 8, 1914, he called the discussion of preparedness the talk of "nervous and excited" people, and condemned in one breath "compulsory military service," while in another he asserted that the country must depend "upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms." This kind of inconsistent thinking is peculiarly manifest in his speech before the League to Enforce Peace. Of the European war he says:

With its causes and its objects we are not concerned. The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore.

And then, a few inches farther down in his printed address, he tells us that as a people we are ineradicably opposed to wars of aggression! Right! But how can an intelligent man tell whether a war is a war of aggression and a violation "of the rights of

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peoples and nations" unless he informs himself about the causes and objects of the war and explores the sources from which its stupendous floods burst forth? If the true American citizen, as the President says, must be unalterably opposed to wars which are made "in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations," how can he be neutral in his heart with regard to the greatest war of all history?

The unfortunate phrases "neutral in heart" and "too proud to fight" have been explained away by those who loyally desire to follow the President as a great leader of public thought, on the ground that they were misunderstood, that they had a context in the President's mind which he did not clearly express. But no one can misunderstand him now.

With the causes and objects of the European war he is not concerned. We believe that every intelligent and patriotic American must be deeply concerned to study and understand them.

The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth, he says, he is not interested to search for or explore. We believe those fountains constitute the most important thing which the intelligent student of human progress and political freedom can search for or explore.

Fifty or a hundred years from now the invasion of Belgium, the sinking of the Lusitania, and the piratical destruction of the Sussex will be mere incidents—though significant incidents—in history. But if the objects and causes of the war are not understood, and if the sources from which it burst forth are not explored, mapped, and intelligently described, our children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren may be overwhelmed and torn to pieces in a similar social convulsion, because we have not taken the proper steps to remedy its causes and remove its sources.

A surgeon of the United States army, Dr. Walter Reed, sacrificed his life to a study of the causes and an exploration of the sources of yellow fever. He found the prime cause and the malignant source of yellow fever to be the *Stegomyia* mosquito. Up to his time the world had dealt merely with the symptoms of yellow fever. It regarded the fight as a drawn battle, a hopeless deadlock, and either ran away or mediated with the plague when it could. Now, thanks to Dr. Reed's leadership, the real cause is understood and yellow fever epidemics no longer menace the world.

If war as an epidemic is to be wiped out, it cannot be done by homeopathic or even allopathic doses of mediation and fine phrases; it must be done by a devoted study of the sources and causes of war, and by a self-sacrificing and well-prepared determination to strike the *Stegomyia prussiana* of war wherever it shows itself.

In our judgment, President Wilson during the last two years, culminating in the frank and disappointing avowals of his Washington speech, has so often failed to rise to this kind of determined and self-sacrificing leadership that he is in danger of losing the support of the country, as he has lost the support of very many citizens who heartily indorsed and voted for him four years ago.

JAMES JEROME HILL

Quite aside from his work, the personal atmosphere of a really great man is always remarkable.

One day a visitor entered the bare, barn-like waiting-room at the Executive Offices in Washington. The President's secretary had said, "There is only one visitor waiting before you." This visitor proved to be a man in massive mold, his shaggy gray head bent over the table, reading. He looked a bit like a buffalo. Then, as he looked up, turned a searching gaze, proffered a kindly handshake to the incoming visitor, whom he knew, he looked like Jupiter.

This is the man, J. J. Hill, who, in his home in St. Paul, Minnesota, died last week.

Any one who saw or talked with Mr. Hill felt his *being* before his doing; felt a gigantic, elemental, instinctive common sense that could be trusted to do the right thing; felt that sort of "edge" reflected in Mr. Hill's reply the other day to the question, "When will the war end?" The answer was: "The war will end when somebody gets licked, and somebody has got to get licked before it ends."

James Jerome Hill was born in Guelph, Ontario, Canada, seventy-seven years ago. His father was Irish, his mother Scotch. Until he was fifteen he went to a Quaker school there, and along with other studies copied various paintings. He was a fair artist, and was later to become a notable collector of pictures. But the artistic temperament is not always visualized in canvases;

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its vision may outline something else, and it was the "something else" which led young Hill to come to this country and to travel widely here looking for his chance. He found it at St. Paul, then a town of about five thousand inhabitants. He took up river transportation problems, and then those of land transportation. The rest is well known.

Mr. Hill was about the last of the pathfinders who built the great railways of the West. But he was more than a mere railway pioneer; he was a signally successful railway operator. To be that, one needs to be a stern taskmaster in practicing good car and train loading. Mr. Hill's example advanced operating efficiency in this country until now freight is carried here at the lowest rate in the world. Finally, the vision which has pictured a forthcoming transportation network also stood him in good stead in forecasting the future on other economic subjects; hence it was that any interview with him obtained immediate and general reading.

Mr. Hill became more indeed than a mere railway man, no matter how eminent; he became an empire builder; to him the Northwest owes the development of its agricultural as well as its transportation interests.

This led to his work for the conservation of our natural resources. The doctrine of Conservation as a whole, and not as an incident of some one occupation, was, we think, first announced in 1906 by Mr. Hill in an address before the Minnesota Agricultural Society. Its timeliness was reflected in the interest with which the discussion was taken up by the public in general and by President Roosevelt in particular. The following year Mr. Roosevelt called a conference of Governors and others to meet at the White House to consider the subject, and at this conference Mr. Hill delivered a notable address. In it he declared that the principle of Conservation as the foremost and controlling policy of the United States henceforth was being more and more recognized and must be ultimately accepted by every one, not only as the primal condition for our continued material prosperity, but also as the proper expression of a popular government. As he also pointed out, the work of the Department of Agriculture and the agricultural colleges furnished a broad and intelligent foundation upon which to build up a new era of National progress and prosperity. "It calls for a wise, generous, and continuing policy on the part of both Federal and State Governments."

In the purely financial world as well a great figure has fallen. To no one, it is said, was the success of the recent Anglo-French loan due more than to Mr. Hill. It was also his ambition to rehabilitate Belgium at the close of the war, both because of his gratitude for the aid given to him by Belgians at a time when his financial career was at stake and because of his faith in Belgian enterprise and industry.

To all Americans, whether in the Northwest or not, Mr. Hill's warnings against extravagance and counsels on self-help came with force because they came from the experience of a self-made man. He not only made himself, but when he met the girl he wanted to marry he paid for her schooling, and helped to make her as he had helped to make himself. He was a man who as well as working for himself always worked for others. One of his exhortations typifies the characteristics of his influence: "Reviving the spirit of the days that created our Constitution, the days that carried us through civil conflict, . . . taking thought as Washington and Lincoln took thought, only for the highest good of all the people, we may give a new meaning to our future . . . and enlarge the borders of hope for all mankind."

SOME LETTERS

MR. DAVENPORT'S unusually interesting articles on "The Pre-Nomination Campaign" have brought us many letters covering a wide range of topics, since Mr. Davenport naturally touches many aspects of public life. Mr. Elmer H. Youngman, editor of the "Bankers' Magazine," New York City, writes to protest against Mr. Davenport's approval of the Federal Reserve Act. Mr. Davenport had said that the Federal Reserve had "helped powerfully to avert a panic at the beginning of the present war." Mr. Youngman asserts that "this will be news to most people." Mr. Youngman states that the Federal Reserve Act did not go into effect until November, 1914, and could therefore have had slight influence upon the war disturbances of July and August, 1914. He claims that the financial excitement of those two months was allayed by the Aldrich-

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Vreeland Act, under which a large volume of currency was issued. Mr. Youngman apparently forgets that the Federal Reserve Act was approved on December 23, 1913, nearly a year before the outbreak of the war, and that the Organization Committee had completed its work of organizing the twelve regional reserve banks in August, 1914. Practically the new system was in operation long before November, 1914, although all the members of the Board were not confirmed by the Senate until that time. The fact that the Federal Reserve system had been established and would within a few weeks be in actual operation produced the psychological effect throughout the country which prevented a panic in August, 1914. Moreover, not a dollar of currency would have been issued under the Aldrich-Vreeland Act in its original form if it had not been amended and continued by the terms of the Federal Reserve Act itself. In other words, it was the Federal Reserve Act which enabled the country to make temporary use of the Aldrich-Vreeland Act in August.

Mr. Youngman again takes issue with Mr. Davenport on the democratic character of the Federal Reserve system. Mr. Davenport said of it: "It is a stable democratic system and not a highly centralized autocratic system." Mr. Youngman denies this, and asserts that the old National Bank Act provided for three hundred and sixty-seven reserve banks controlled by about a thousand directors, and that the Federal Reserve system substituted twelve banks in twelve cities, under the control of a board of seven men, for the old "democratic system." In answer to this it may be said that under the old system, the practical effect was to concentrate all the reserve funds of the country in New York City. For example, in March, 1914, there was deposited in the banks of New York City alone $893,000,000, this vast sum being made up of the reserve funds of outside banks. These moneys had to be made profitable, and were therefore very largely loaned for speculative purposes. When the demand came from interior sections for the return of these funds from New York banks, it was very difficult to get them, and this produced an abnormal rate of interest and sometimes a panic. Under the Federal Reserve system, this huge mass of reserves will be divided up in a normal fashion among the regions served by the Federal Reserve banks. During the first year of operation of the new system the rate of interest was more uniform than ever before in the history of the country, and the banks have had ample funds to meet all the demands of commerce. It is true that Mr. Youngman has some basis for contending that seven is a more autocratic number than three hundred and sixty-seven, but we are not interested in the mathematics or the lexicography or the terminology of the Federal Reserve Act. What we want to know is how it works. The old system worked in a despotic fashion and the new system works in a democratic fashion.

These, however, are not the worst of Mr. Davenport's errors, according to Mr. Youngman, who says that "Mr. Davenport stupendously errs" in stating that the Federal Reserve Act has smothered certain fiat tendencies in our National finance. Mr. Youngman asserts that the Federal Reserve notes represent only forty per cent of gold, and therefore "they will represent fiatism and inflation, and will set in operation Gresham's law and tend to expel gold from the country." It is true that there is a gold reserve of only forty per cent behind the new Federal Reserve notes, but there is also short-time commercial paper of the most gilt-edged character, amounting to one hundred cents on the dollar. That is to say, there is $1.40 behind every dollar of the notes issued, forty per cent of it gold, and the rest the wealth of the country. All the assets of all the banks in the Federal Reserve system, and the double liability of all member banks rediscounting their paper with the Federal Reserve system—this security also is behind the notes. Mr. Paul Warburg, one of the ablest international bankers in the country, insisted during the debates on the Act that the security behind the Federal Reserve funds was excessive and ought to be reduced one-third, and he still thinks so. Fiat money is money which is issued on a mere promise to pay, without any security to make the promise good. Both theory and practice prove that gold behind a bank note is merely a form of collateral—a very convenient form, to be sure, but essentially no better than wheat, or lumber, or coal, or cotton. The Federal Reserve system is so planned that its funds have actual tangible commodities behind them amounting to more than the full face value of the notes. Both the facts and the philosophy of the Federal Reserve Act are, in our judgment, singularly misapprehended by Mr. Youngman.

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In an article on conditions in the South, published in The Outlook of February 16, Mr. Davenport spoke of Henry W. Grady's great speech as having been made at the New England Society's dinner in Boston. In a private letter to Mr. Davenport, from which we are permitted to quote, the Hon. Elihu Root points out that the speech was made, not in Boston, but in New York. "It was made," says Mr. Root, "at Delmonico's, December 22, 1886, at the eighty-first Annual Dinner of the New England Society in New York. I was there and heard the speech, and I was with Grady the night before and we talked about the speech he was going to make. He was very nervous and keyed up to high tension and thought he was going to fail. But it was a wonderful speech. I have been looking it over in the New England Society report for that year. I suppose that the print brings back to me, as it could not to any one who was not there, the effect produced by the strong and lovable personality of the man manifest in delivery. I do not think the effect of the speech upon the country can be overestimated. It played a great part in bringing to an end the period of hardness and beginning the period of real kindly feeling. We often hear people talking about messages, but we seldom hear one. This really was a message. I am inclined to think that Grady's untimely death increased the effect of his speech. Almost any life would have been an anticlimax to it."

This letter of Mr. Root's was purely personal, but we have asked the privilege of printing it because it throws light on the rapidly growing reunion between the South and the North. Mr. Root, by natural gifts and by experience, is an accomplished judge of oratory, and his opinion of one of the great orations of our time is singularly interesting.

In The Outlook of March 1 Mr. Davenport referred to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Woodrow, of Columbia, South Carolina, as the famous uncle from whom the President inherited his dominant traits and first name. Dr. Thornton Whaling, President of the Columbia Theological Seminary, writes to say that Thomas Woodrow, the uncle for whom the President was named, was an Ohio business man. The South Carolina uncle whose traits were those of the President, was really Dr. James Woodrow. President Whaling's letter runs as follows:

Dr. James Woodrow was a descendant of Woodrow, the Scottish historian, and came of a line, therefore, remarkable for mental gifts, for spiritual force, and for invincible honesty and indomitable fighting power. For twenty-five years, from 1861 to 1886, Dr. Woodrow was Professor in Columbia Theological Seminary, and for quite a number of years after President of the University of South Carolina. He was easily the first citizen of this city, and also one of the great men of the State, and of the South. He taught thousands of students, every one of whom was compelled to learn because of his unusual teaching gifts, and a vast majority of whom loved him as a friend as well as admired him as a teacher.

I once said to the President of the University of Texas, who now happens to be Secretary of Agriculture in the President's Cabinet, that "the most perfect mind I had ever witnessed in operation was the mind of Dr. James Woodrow." He promptly replied, "I think so too."

Dr. Woodrow had a combination of gifts and graces which is rarely seen—an intellect of the first order, an emotional nature of profound intensity, an inflexible will, an unshakable self-control, encyclopædic scholarship, orthodoxy of the strictest kind, a love of truth as the passion of his being, and a wonderful power of clear exposition in the statement of it. All these gifts united to make him a marked man, as a teacher, as a citizen, as a leader in affairs, and as an ecclesiastical statesman. Gentle and modest and unassuming, there was a lion within him when attacked, especially unjustly, and his antagonist had much to fear. He was the center of a fierce storm of controversy for more than a decade in the Southern Presbyterian Church, and he emerged out of it with his reputation unscathed and his orthodoxy unimpeachable. He used to say, "No man can be beaten who will never quit fighting." And the vindication which has come to him in the course of the years is the proof of this statement.

I believe, as one who was a fellow-student of Mr. Wilson's at Davidson and an admiring pupil of Dr. Woodrow, that the resemblance between them is quite striking, and that if Dr. James Woodrow had been President of the United States, perhaps—it is no impeachment of our present distinguished President to say this—he would have guided the country with more skill and certainty along the path of wisdom, righteousness, and justice.

As we read these letters and write these memoranda we are struck with the fact that they so largely concern Southern activities. To be sure, the Federal Reserve Act is not a Southern measure. Indeed, if it can be claimed that any one man is its father, the claim should be made for a Rhode Island Yankee, Senator Aldrich. But a Southern

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man is certainly its foster-father, for Representative Carter Glass, of Virginia, did more, we think, than any other one man to create public opinion in its behalf outside of Congress and to protect its threatened fortunes within Congress. Carter Glass, Henry W. Grady, and Dr. James Woodrow are a Southern trio whose names The Outlook is glad to have thrown together even by chance within the circle of its pages.

A MASQUE OF MASQUES[1]

"CALIBAN BY THE YELLOW SANDS," GIVEN IN NEW YORK—A NEW FORM OF DRAMATIC ART—A HOST OF PERFORMERS IN THE OPEN AIR—A DRAMA FOR AND BY THE PEOPLE

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

"THE most wonderful spectacle I have ever seen," said my companion as, engulfed in the crowd, we moved slowly out of the stadium.

Sometimes it has been suggested that democracy will be the death of art; that with democracy mediocrity and dullness will triumph; that for the benefits of democracy we shall have to pay by foregoing the splendors, the beauty, the lavish artistic products, of aristocratic eras. Misgivings of this sort did not obtrude upon those who witnessed the performance of the Shakespeare Tercentenary Masque "Caliban by the Yellow Sands" in New York City last week and the week before. If any king or emperor of ancient days, when aristocracy flourished, ever witnessed such splendor and such art in magnificence, he must have employed wizards with greater resources than Merlin. And yet that masque was a genuine product of American democracy—the cosmopolitan democracy of heterogeneous, polyglot New York.

The theater in which it was performed was the big open-air stadium of the institution which is the apex of the city's democratic public school system—the College of the City of New York. This stadium had been increased to twice its size by the erection of wooden stands.

When we entered, the Masque was already under way. It was a slower process getting in than we had calculated. Besides, who ever heard of any entertainment in New York beginning on the announced time—as this in fact did begin? In the distance, at the opposite end from the main entrance, two or three city blocks away, there was a structure that in the half-darkness seemed to be something like a stage. As we reached our seats we could see that it was a strange sort of stage. It looked like a dragon, perhaps, with an open mouth, or possibly a cavern in a cliff. There were some figures moving about, and they were speaking. We could not hear what they said. One of the figures was a queer creature—part monster, part savage man. This was Caliban, type of brutish humanity—primitive in mind and feeling, half childlike, half ferocious. We gathered that he was about to be educated by his master, Prospero; educated by observing the progress of dramatic art. In the cavern was a slim figure, Ariel, who was liberated by Prospero. Then suddenly the cliff—or was it a dragon?—crumbled, and revealed a lofty sort of stage to which two broad flights of steps ascended. On this stage stood Prospero and the maiden Miranda (type of dramatic art) and the creature Caliban. At a word from Prospero the lights illumined the foreground. Then we noted for the first time that the huge pit of the stadium was yellow, as if it were a flooring of sand. From each side of the stage, but on the level of these sands, appeared a strange procession, joined by another that came from the main entrance. It was a solemn, mystic, subtly cruel ritual of Egypt. Under the play of yellow light, cast on a throng in yellow costume, the worship of Osiris was observed. As Egypt disappeared Greece came upon the yellow sands, and there we watched the vigorous dance of the Greek athletes, while on a low stage a Greek tragedy was performed. Loud cries came from the sides, and Greek messengers announced in tones of terror the coming of conquerors. All was confusion. The Greeks,

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

[1] In our picture section this week will be found photographs relating to the Masque.—THE EDITORS.

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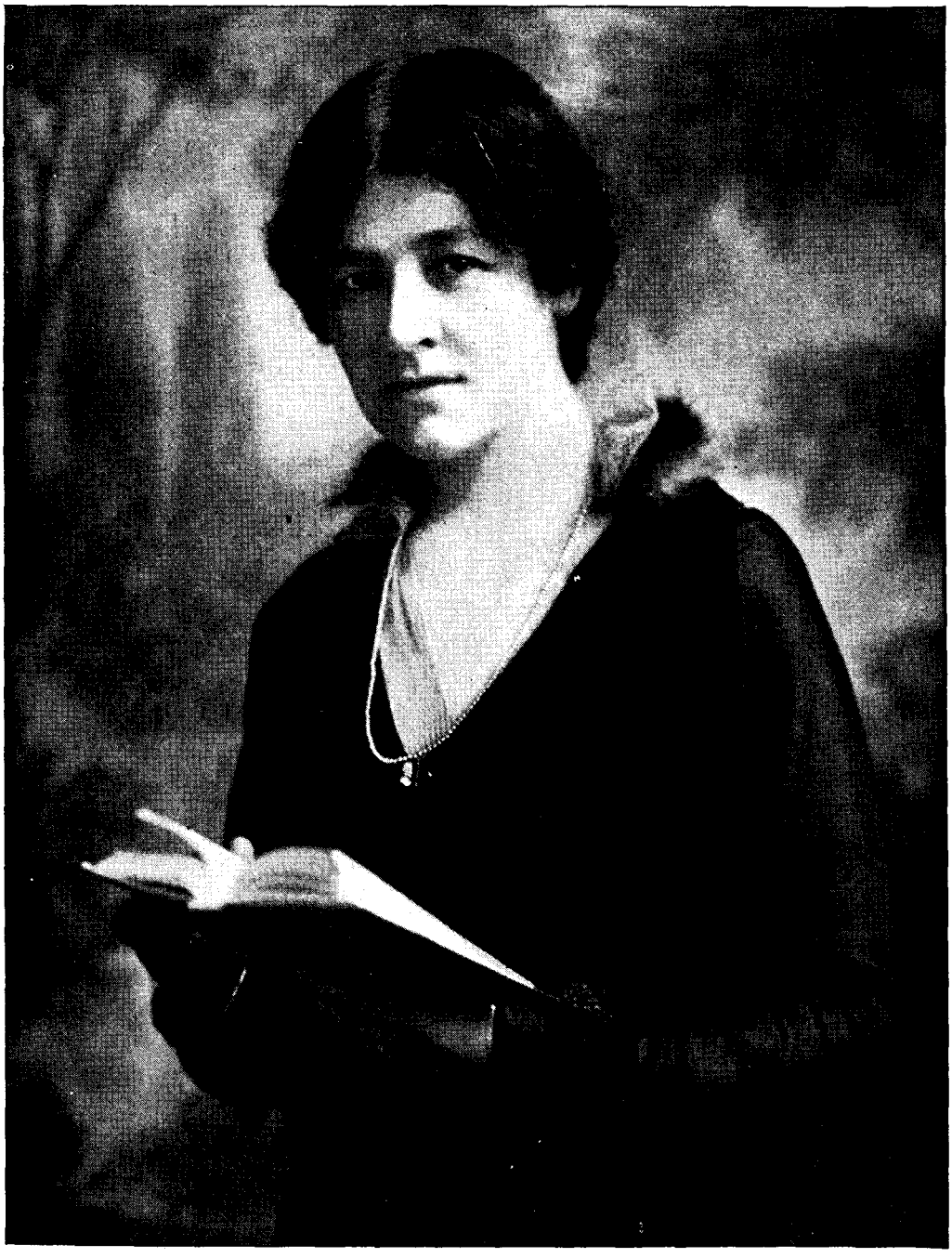
Current Events Pictorially Treated



AMELIA H. REINHARDT, PRESIDENT OF MILLS COLLEGE, CALIFORNIA

Mrs. Reinhardt, who has just been elected to the presidency of Mills College (situated at Oakland, Cal.), is a broadly educated woman. A graduate of the University of California, she took a post-graduate course in Yale University, studied in England at Oxford University, and in 1905 received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Yale. Under the leadership of its new President Mills College will no doubt increase its usefulness and enlarge its standing as the only college exclusively for women on the Pacific Coast

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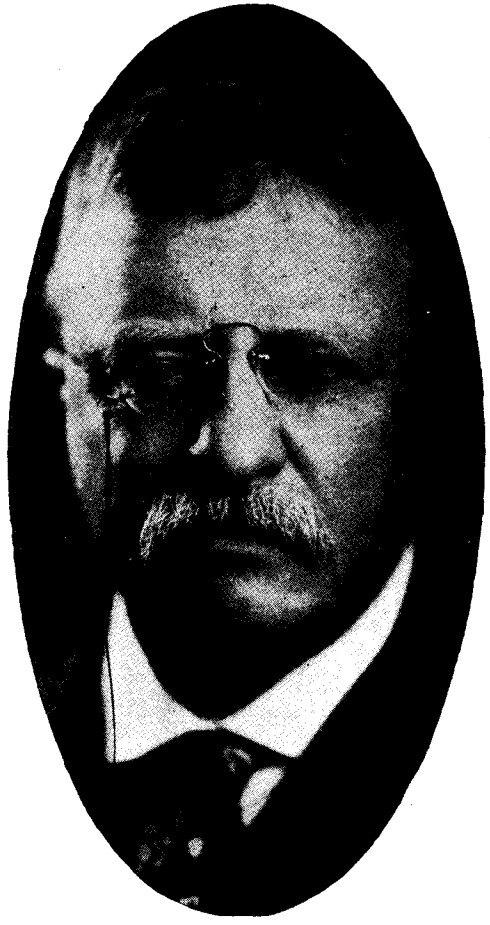
CHARLES E. HUGHES



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

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ELIHU ROOT

THE PRINCIPAL CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION NOW IN SESSION AT CHICAGO

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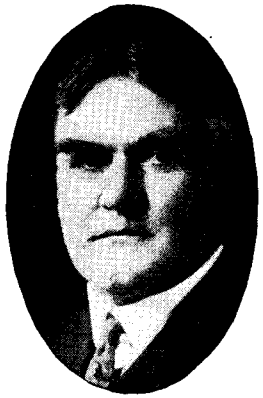
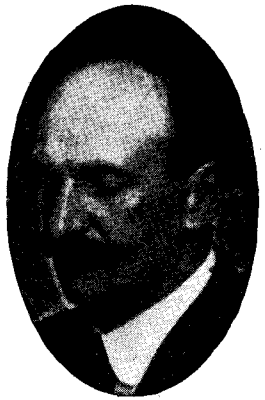
WILLIAM E. BORAH
U. S. Senator from Idaho

THEODORE E. BURTON
U. S. Senator from Ohio



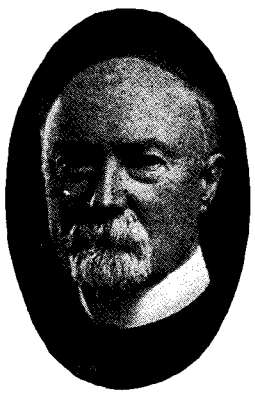
MARTIN G. BRUMBAUGH
Governor of Pennsylvania

ALBERT B. CUMMINS
U. S. Senator from Iowa



T. COLEMAN DU PONT
Delaware Capitalist

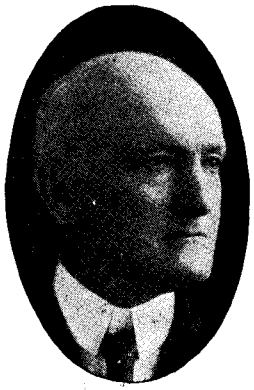
HENRY D. ESTABROOK
New York Lawyer



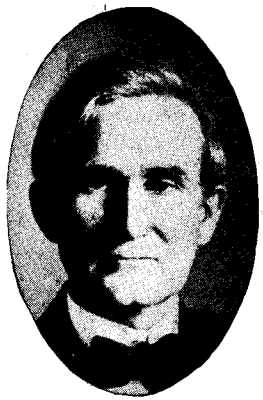
CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS
of Indiana
Ex-Vice President of U. S.

HENRY FORD
of Michigan. Auto. Mfr.
and Peace Advocate

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE
U. S. Senator from
Wisconsin



SAMUEL W. McCALL
Governor of Massachu-
setts



LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN
U. S. Senator from Illinois

JOHN W. WEEKS
U. S. Senator from
Massachusetts

OTHER REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

All of these men will probably receive votes on the first ballot (unless their names are formally withdrawn) because in practically every case delegates have been instructed by primary or State conventions so to vote

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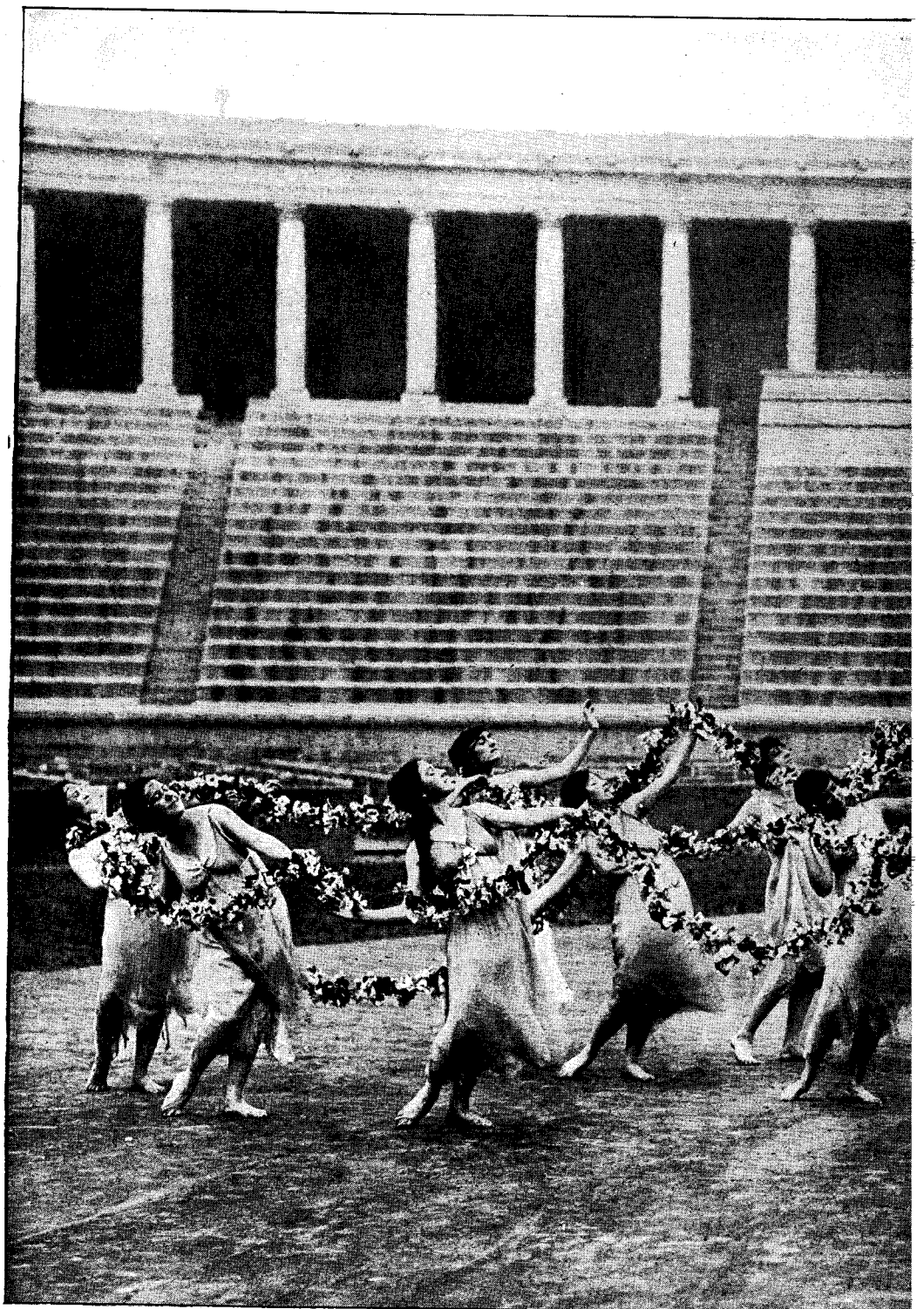

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RHYTHMIC DANCERS REPRESENTING THE SPIRIT OF ARIEL IN THE SHAKI

This remarkable tribute to Shakespeare's memory was given in the Stadium of the College of the City of N to overflowing. See picture of another sce

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CENTENARY MASQUE, "CALIBAN BY THE YELLOW SANDS," BY PERCY MACKAYE
Masque was presented at night, this photograph of course does not show the vast audience which filled the Stadium on the next page, and descriptive article elsewhere

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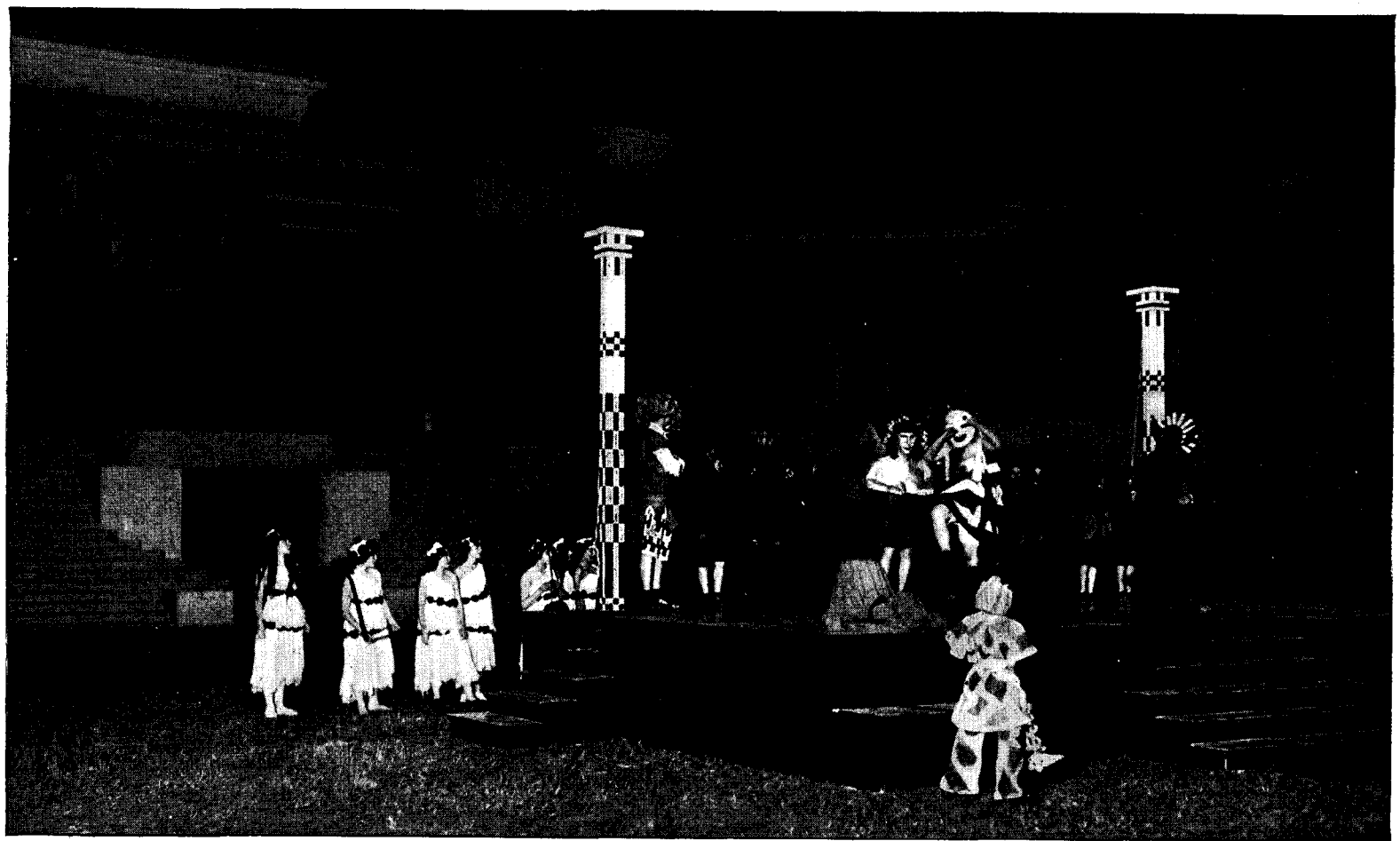

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A SCENE IN THE GREEK EPISODE IN "CALIBAN BY THE YELLOW SANDS"

See preceding page for another illustration of this Masque; also see descriptive article elsewhere in this issue

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GUESTS ASSEMBLING AT HAMPTON INSTITUTE, VIRGINIA, TO HONOR THE MEMORY OF ROBERT C. OGDEN

"The Mansion House," the home of Dr. H. B. Frissell, President of Hampton Institute, is shown in the photograph, with guests who have assembled to witness the ceremonies at the laying of the corner-stone of the Auditorium to be erected as a memorial to Robert C. Ogden, a lifelong friend of Hampton, of the Negro, and of the South. The Auditorium will seat 2,500 persons and is to cost $150,000

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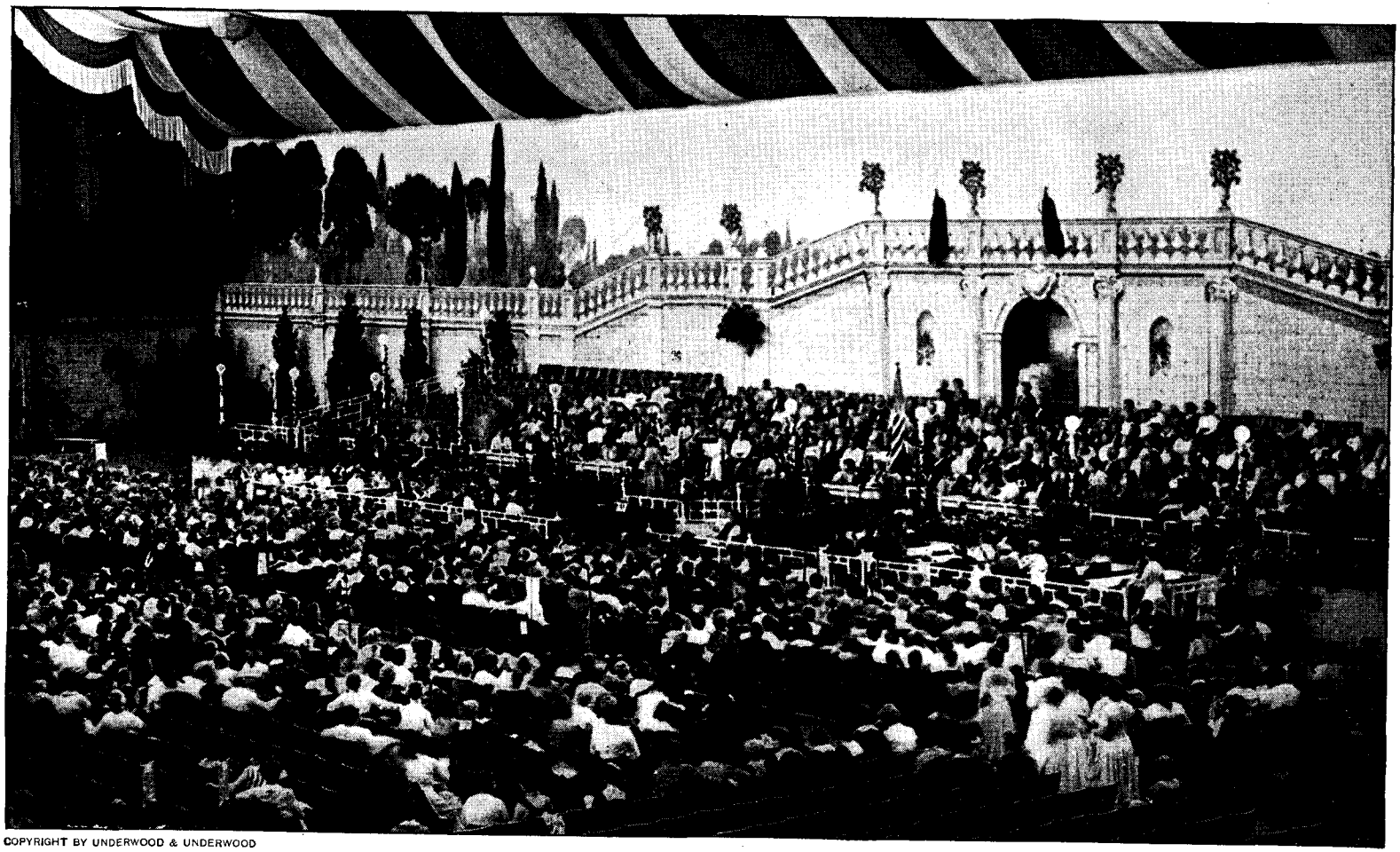

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THE CONVENTION OF THE FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS IN SESSION IN NEW YORK CITY

The importance of this gatnering may be judged from the statement that, according to a newspaper estimate, there were nearly 20,000 clubwomen in attendance at the various meetings of the Convention

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taking up the terrified cries of the messengers, fled. The light turned red, and red were the costumes of those who marched in, with chariots and spears. History was unfolding. The art of Greece had given way to the might of Rome. And with its might came Rome's passion and excesses—the Bacchanalian dance and the story (told in pantomime on the low stage) of the luring of Hercules through drunkenness.

Having shown Caliban the course of history in Egypt, Greece, and Rome, Prospero now showed him these civilizations as depicted by the dramatic art of Shakespeare. For this purpose he revealed the theater he had created above and behind the high stage on which he stands. The curtains (or rather doors) of this theater rolled back. It was not the ordinary tinsel scenery of the playhouse that appeared behind these curtains, but scenery composed of drapery and light. First appeared "Antony and Cleopatra" (Egypt), then "Troilus and Cressida" (Greece), then "Julius Cæsar" (Rome). Caliban, aroused by these scenes, seized Prospero's staff and conjured back the Roman orgy, but in the midst of it appeared the blazing cross of Constantine and the sound of the Gregorian chant was heard.

Prospero now called forth in succession a pageant from mediæval Germany (with a pantomime of the morality play "Doctor Faustus"); a pageant of mediæval France, showing the Field of the Cloth of Gold, stately and gracious, the soul of France clothed in color; and a pageant of mediæval Italy and Spain (with a pantomime of Don Giovanni).

Then, after words between Prospero and Caliban, came, on the inner stage of light and drapery, scenes from the Shakespearean plays of "Hamlet," "Romeo and Juliet," "Merchant of Venice," and "Winter's Tale."

But these plays vanished as the figures of Puritans appeared. Miranda, typical of dramatic art, swooned; for did not Puritanism mean the extinction of the drama? She revived, however, as Prospero conjured a pageant of Elizabethan England—"merrie England," the England of the May-pole and the morris dances. This pageant, in which the very trees danced, as the gnomes of winter fled before the oncoming of spring, and in which children played their games and boys rode their hobby-horses to the convulsed amusement of the crowd, was a pure delight—rightly called "a jocund festival."

Again Prospero and Caliban appeared on the lofty stage. The symbolism represented by these characters and the accompanying figures of Death, Lust, and War as they appeared from time to time was throughout not easy to follow, though one auditor concluded that there was an effort here to indicate that death, lust, and war are not only seen to work evil in history, but also are represented as destructive to dramatic art.

Then followed more Shakespearean scenes: "The Merry Wives," showing the penalty of the carnally minded, and "Henry the Fifth," introducing the spirit of battle. Thus came—in flame-colored hordes summoned by the partly tamed but still elemental Caliban—a representation (so it may be presumed) of the present European war.

The Epilogue was a pageant of prophecy. For the first time pageantry left the yellow sands and glowed upon the lofty stage. The great theaters of the world furnished their groups, their banners, their insignia to do homage to Shakespeare. And then in stateliness the throng trooped off.

In this masque Percy MacKaye, the author, has produced a new form of dramatic art. There are in it, it is true, familiar elements. It has in it the spoken drama, the pantomime, the pageant, the dance. It has some faint resemblance to opera. But it is in its conception quite different from any of these. I know of no better name for it than that which Mr. MacKaye has incidentally used for it—a "masque of masques."

Though it is the creation of Mr. MacKaye, it is also as truly a creation of democratic America. For several years there has been growing in this country a spontaneous interest in pageants. Not only large cities, but even small towns and villages, have had their local pageants. In almost every case the participants have been of the locality, and the pageant has been an expression of community pride and community friendliness. But these pageants have been largely the work of amateurs. At the same time there have been built in this country a number of stadiums—outdoor theaters, originally intended for athletic games, but suited to community uses of various sorts. The Harvard stadium, for instance, is used not only for athletic contests, but for academic celebrations. Last year the Harvard stadium was used for a performance of "Siegfried." That was a move in a right direction; but it did not go far, because such a music drama as

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"Siegfried" is ill suited to open-air performance. The operatic stage, artificial and tinselly even indoors, becomes a joke when it is erected in the genuine surroundings of sky and stars and the breath of heaven; and, moreover, an opera is something performed *at* people; there is nothing of the community about it. What Percy MacKaye has done has been to see in this community spirit of a democracy shown by the taste for pageants, and in the public open spaces that are the modern creations of democracy—its parks and its stadiums—material for a new form of art.

Whatever the minor defects of "Caliban" may be, its great success is due to the fact that Mr. MacKaye conceived the idea of it in true accord with these conditions. He has not disregarded the professional artists; indeed, he has absolutely depended upon them for the performance of what he calls the "masque proper," in which the speaking parts predominate; but for the great impressive effect he has relied on the people. The performance of this masque as given in New York calls for fifteen hundred participants and an equal number of substitutes. In this case they came from all over the city. People of Italian descent labored to perfect the pageants of Rome and Italy; people of German descent contributed to the German pageant. The English dances were arranged by members of the New York City Center of the U. S. A. Branch of the English Folk Dance Society. For the use of participants, the text of the masque was translated into Italian, German, and Yiddish. The names of the participants were printed in the programme. I counted roughly over eighteen hundred names besides the scores of those on the committees for preparation and the forty or more players who took speaking parts. And I found German names in the French pageant, English names in the German, and Jewish names in all. As a great spectacle, an incomparable moving picture, not of photographic figures on a screen, but of living people, it was significant; but it was most significant as a proof that even big, many-peopled New York, a conglomerate of languages and race traditions, has within itself a democratic American spirit that can find expression in a new, a genuine, and a mightily beautiful and impressive form of art.

The music for chorus and orchestra, both hidden (to this moment I do not know where they were, I only know I heard them), was composed by Arthur Farwell, and was admirable. Its unobtrusiveness was one of its chief virtues; but it did not lack distinction. On the contrary, seldom has a composer so successfully performed the task of writing what is sometimes called incidental music, but what in this case ought to be termed essential music. Without Mr. Farwell's contribution the masque would lose immeasurably. Of such matters as lighting and stage management and scenery and dancing and costumes, and their co-ordination, mutually and with the music, it can here only be said that I have never seen anything like it. Mr. Urban, Mr. Edmond Jones, Mr. Richard Ordynski, Mrs. John Alexander, Mr. Pichel, Mrs. Grace Jenkins Anderson, Mr. Garnet Holme, and Mr. Louis Koemmenich are to be held chiefly responsible, I suppose, for these aspects of the masque. Credit is due to those professional members of the stage who co-operated by undertaking a new, an almost unprecedented, task of open-air acting. After all, however, the honor belongs to the community, because this masque is essentially the creation of a very noble form of community spirit.

Though the occasion of this production is a passing one—the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death—the reason for giving it will be as good next year as this. Though the place of its creation is New York, the same spirit which produced it here may produce it elsewhere. "Caliban by the Yellow Sands" should be given again and again. To the stadiums and the parks of our democracy "Caliban" will, I hope, introduce a form of entertainment equaling in popularity and surpassing in beauty and wholesomeness the vast spectacles of the Roman Coliseum.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

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A WORLD CONVENTION

THE METHODIST QUADRENNIAL CONFERENCE

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

"WOULD you like to see how the Methodists transact their business in their Quadrennial Conference?" asked my friend. "Very much," I replied. About a couple of hours after breakfast he called for me, and we went together to Convention Hall at Saratoga Springs, a hall erected, I believe, for political conventions, with a seating capacity of five thousand. The floor was fairly well filled with delegates to this Conference, numbering, including bishops and other officials, about a thousand. A fair sprinkling of visiting spectators occupied the galleries and the reserved seats under the galleries.

I was favored with a seat on the platform with the bishops, where I had an admirable opportunity to witness the proceedings. They had a certain resemblance to those which one witnesses from the gallery in the House of Representatives at Washington, with four important exceptions. A tribune had been erected in front of the platform, and to this tribune speakers who desired to address the house at any length were expected to come. Although all the speeches were published in a "Daily Christian Advocate," there was no "buncombe" in the speeches; though all resolutions were referred without debate to the appropriate committee, there was no indication of any desire on the part of any one to stifle freedom of speech; and, although intensity of conviction was apparent and at times decided differences of conviction, the atmosphere of the Conference was wholly good-natured—the earnestness was without bitterness. To a large extent the business of the Conference was thrashed out in committees. The mornings were given to what I may call parliamentary business, the afternoons to committee work, the evenings to mass-meetings. At the one evening meeting which I attended, which was given to Sunday-school work of the Church, the house was packed to its utmost limit. When I arrived there, fifteen minutes before the opening of proceedings, belated visitors were being turned away, and I was told that not a few of the seats had been occupied for nearly or quite an hour before the time for opening. This Conference, it should be added, includes representatives of the Methodist Church from all over the world. Germany was the only country not represented.

The spirit of the Conference was unmistakably practical rather than theological, and therefore liberal rather than reactionary. Thus its answer to the absurd charges by a heresy-hunter against Dr. George P. Mains for his excellent book entitled "Modern Thought and Traditional Faith" was a resolution, passed without question and, I believe, unanimously, entering his name in the records of the Book Committee as publishing agent emeritus of the Book Concern and directing that in view of his long years of faithful and valuable services the Book Committee be instructed to make such use of his services and on such terms as might be deemed advisable. The report of a commission on the ritual of the Church indicated the same spirit. It struck out from the baptismal service for children the words "Forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin," a phrase which, transferred from poetry in the Old Testament to theological doctrine in a modern ritual, connotes Original Sin, Infant Depravity, and Baptismal Regeneration. The commission also recommended that candidates for membership should not be required to subscribe to the Apostles' Creed and the Twenty-five Articles of Religion, but simply to affirm that they receive and profess the Christian faith as contained in the New Testament; a return, it may be remarked, to the position originally held by John Wesley, and by the Methodist Church up to 1864. This report was accepted by the Conference, and then referred to the Board of Bishops with power for final action.

The practical questions apparently interested the Conference much more than ecclesiastical or theological problems. They passed a resolution strongly recommending that in those States in which the Bible is now banished by law from the schools the laws be changed so that it may be read; a resolution condemning Government appropriation for sectarian schools, especially aimed at the appropriation for Roman Catholic schools working among the Indians; approved a

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petition to Congress to provide an adequate censorship for the moving-picture shows; and passed with enthusiasm resolutions commending total abstinence, condemning the license system as a colossal blunder, condemning also the issuance of internal revenue tax receipts by the Federal Government "to criminals engaged in violating State laws," favoring the Uniform Marriage Bill prepared and urged by the American Bar Association, and urging the adoption of National prohibition and, pending the submission of an amendment to the Constitution to make universal prohibition possible, prohibition by Congress to the full extent of its present Constitutional powers.

Probably no subject brought before this Conference will be more interesting to Methodists than the important steps taken toward uniting the Methodist Church, South, and the Methodist Church, North, in one American Methodist Church. Such a proposed union has been pending for some time. The wiser heads, both North and South, have realized that such a union, to be effective, must be the product of a growth in fellowship. Their conviction was well expressed by one speaker in the statement: "I was in doubt, because I did not want a union that was not a real union, and I was afraid that we did not sufficiently understand one another to come together in one great organization for the upbuilding of God's kingdom." How far this good understanding has really been brought about I have no means of knowing. Theologically the Methodist Church, South, has been more stationary, the Methodist Church, North, more progressive. No real union is possible unless both in the North and in the South there is granted that intellectual and spiritual liberty which, judging from the action of this Conference, pervades the Northern Church. The action of the Conference indicates a prevailing opinion that this necessary good understanding has been already largely, if not entirely, attained. The entire body adopted by a rising vote a resolution providing for a Commission of twenty-five members—five bishops, ten ministers, and ten laymen—to confer with commissioners from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and from other Methodist bodies in the United States in carrying forward negotiations for a union of all the Methodist bodies of the United States in one American Methodist Church.

I have left too little space for the inspiring reports presented at this Conference of Christian progress under the auspices of the Methodist Church in foreign lands. The interesting figures presented will be a surprise to those cynics who asperse or belittle foreign missionary work—at least those of them who are sufficiently open-minded to read and consider the significance of these figures. It will, I suspect, surprise even those who have been loyal supporters of the modern successors to the ancient Apostle to the Gentiles.

Statistics are to me generally uninteresting and not very convincing. Nevertheless, the net gain in China in four years of fifteen thousand members, including those on probation, is significant; the growth in contributions in the same length of time from these Chinese members for churches and benevolences of one hundred and eighteen per cent is more significant; the fact that more inquirers were enrolled in India in a single night than were enrolled in the first fifty years of Christian missions in that country is still more significant.

More interesting and not less significant are some of the incidents connected with this world missionary movement. For example:

"On a Sunday morning in May, in 1857, in the city of Bareilly, in a room in the missionary's bungalow, an Indian preacher, borrowed from the Presbyterians, rose to preach to a congregation of six, all the Methodists we had in the Indian Empire, and they were from the English community. We had not at that time baptized any from the non-Christian world. Dr. and Mrs. Butler, our great founders, seeing the mutiny gathering, had escaped to the mountains and barely saved their lives. . . . Is it not prophetic that the Indian preacher selected for his text on that memorable morning: 'Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.' Shortly after he rose to explain and unfold his subject the door opened, the mutineers entered, the heads of half of his congregation were cut off inside of the building and the others outside. The preacher himself, slipping out of the back door, and hiding in the jungle in the daytime and traveling at night, three weeks later turned up at Allahabad, three hundred miles away. The missionary's library was burned, everything that could be was destroyed, and the mission blotted out, except that which even an Indian mutiny could not blot out, the word of

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God, 'Fear not little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.'" Yet this seemingly wild optimism of the Indian preacher has its fulfillment in the fact that in this district there is now a population of three hundred and fifty thousand professing Christians, with a hundred and sixty thousand more on the "waiting list"—waiting to be baptized, because the Church will not receive them until they have received some measure of Christian education.

Or take the story of what "Hallelujah Kim," a Japanese "Billy Sunday," is accomplishing in Japan. He spent ten months in America studying the methods of the baseball evangelist, lived for a time with the Sundays, during one month attended every service which Billy Sunday conducted, and now has gone back to Japan to adopt the ideals, but not the methods, of his instructor. "He uses the simplest language possible, but even the strictest missionaries confess that they have never heard him speak vulgarly." "When I eat stewed cherries," he said, "I don't have to eat the stones. I put them at the side of my plate and say nothing about them." The results of his work in Japan appear to rival those of Billy Sunday in America. The missionaries seem to be rather more alive to the duties which those results lay upon them than are the ministers and churches in America, for they have made a call for four hundred and seventy-four missionaries to take care of new business.

One more incident, and I must bring this article to a close; it illustrates the difficulties which some of our missionaries have to meet and their courage in meeting them.

Enraged at the success of American missionaries near Lake Titicaca in Peru, a Roman Catholic bishop "took the police out to the mission, had over thirty men and women arrested, tied to a long rope, and marched through the streets to the common jail. No such outbreak of inquisitional fires had been seen for at least a generation, and it lit a conflagration. Public sentiment burned hot against a law which authorized such an outrage. Public meetings were held, petitions to Lima, the capital, set the prisoners free, and the Senator from that district was ordered to present a bill to repeal the old law of intolerance, or lose his seat. His bill passed, to his great surprise, within ten days of its first reading, going through both Senate and House of Deputies by an overwhelming majority. Being an amendment to the Constitution, it needed to be confirmed by a two-thirds vote 'in a subsequent year.' In 1914 it was smothered in committee by a Peruvian brother of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Trujillo. But last November it was triumphantly passed by both houses of the Peruvian Congress. But another difficulty arose. The President refused to sign it. After the lapse of the constitutional number of days it was passed again, and became effective from December 1, 1915. The scenes of those last days defy description. Driven to bay in the last and most fanatical capital of the Western Hemisphere, Romanist leaders fought desperately. They flooded the city and nation with misleading pamphlets. They organized the women of Lima and had them stay for days in the Cathedral and near-by churches, ready to storm the Senate and House of Deputies when the bill came up for its final passage. At the signal the women rushed to the legislative chamber. They sent for their husbands and brothers who were members. They shouted, '*Viva la Iglesia Romana!*' in the corridors and offices of the building. A priest, more agile and daring than the others, leaped over chairs and seized the bill from the hand of the member who was presenting it for final passage, tore it to scraps, shouting, 'Death to the Masons!' 'Down with the Protestants!' '*Viva la Iglesia Romana!*' at the top of his voice. After much turmoil the chambers were cleared, and, when the vote was recorded, only two votes had been changed by all the frantic efforts of the Romanist leaders. The bill was passed by a vote of 56 to 12, and religious liberty granted to the last nation west of the Atlantic Ocean."

I heartily agree with the conclusion of Bishop Homer C. Stuntz, from whom I have quoted this incident: "This one victory alone is justification of all the expenditure of money and life in South America by the Protestant churches from 1836 to 1861."

LYMAN ABBOTT.

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THE PRE-NOMINATION CAMPAIGN

STILL ON THE TRAIL OF NATIONAL OPINION

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

IN my recent journeys through the Middle West I thought it worth while to spend some days in the State of Ohio in consultation with the Mother of Presidents, the commonwealth of Hayes and Garfield and McKinley. The Ohio portion of the National electorate has a wide reputation for deep and patriotic interest in the concerns of the country. I entered at Cincinnati and came out at Cleveland.

Cincinnati has a variety of elements in its popular make-up which renders it pretty antagonistic to change or unprejudiced thought upon many National matters. It is our first distillery city, our second tobacco city, and our third brewery city, and so completely do these forces dominate that there is hardly an influence of importance that does not directly or remotely depend upon one of these three powerful interests. They are themselves united, and they ramify in every direction, into banks and business of every kind, and into unnumbered thousands of plain homes throughout the municipality and far out into the farming districts. Thirty thousand men formed in line and marched all day as a protest against the proposed State prohibition amendment last fall, which was beaten by fifty-four thousand. The dry and the wet issue transcends all others in the State. Central and northern Ohio, outside of the larger centers, stand militantly and solidly against Cincinnati, which they regard as the modern Babylon. One of the franker editors of the city explained to me why the newspapers of Cincinnati are tied hand and foot to things as they are. A fresh sixteen-page copy of the latest issue lay before us. He said: "At the present cost, the price of this paper to the subscriber and on the street hardly pays for the white paper in it. We are absolutely dependent, and so is every newspaper in Cincinnati, upon the good will of powerful advertising interests. Of course nothing gets into these pages that will in any way seem hostile to them."

Another powerful element in Cincinnati is the German. Here are the sons and grandsons of the Forty-eighters, the men of the educated class who left Germany because of despair of fulfillment of their political ideals. I spent much time in carefully looking into the sentiment of Germans in America upon the National issues of the hour. I talked with German editors, bankers, business men, average citizens, and I think I got a pretty clear conception of what lies back in their minds and rankles there. Suffice it to say here that the long-drawn-out controversy between our Government in Washington and the German Foreign Office has solidified German opinion and established a unity of antagonism and resentment from Cincinnati to Milwaukee that varies only in degree. There is some disloyalty to the country, but that is not widespread. The average German in the Middle West has no thought of any other country. But he has a deep feeling of resentment against what he regards as an attack upon the integrity of the German character. And his resentment goes to such extremes that it at times becomes illogical. Many Germans who believe thoroughly in National preparation would be willing to go the limit of voting for Ford and disarmament, and almost any kind of peace for the present, in order to register their antagonism to what they regard as an unwarranted infringement of their sense of honor and neutrality.

One of the most illuminating reflections that I have run upon arose as a result of one discussion I had over this new resentful German sentiment of solidarity in the United States. If the German crisis could have been handled swiftly and quietly when the German Embassy first advertised impending disaster to the Lusitania, the whole course of German feeling and action, both here and abroad, might have been different. The present Administration has dragged it along in the open and aroused antagonisms and new forms of hostile German unity that it will take a long time to alter. This illustrates the difference between Roosevelt's diplomacy and Wilson's. Roosevelt pilloried domestic intriguers, but was very cautious about foreign difficulties. Wilson pillories foreign intriguers. Roosevelt gave them an opportunity to save their faces and retire without undue publicity from an incorrect and uncomfortable position.

The Progressive party movement in 1912

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hardly touched Cincinnati. That was partly because it was the home of Mr. Taft and partly because Cincinnati is naturally somewhat immune to movements of that sort. The impression seems to be there that the actual amalgamation of the Republican and Progressive voters in Ohio is very nearly complete. There are still, however, very influential leaders, like Garfield (of Cleveland), Garford (of Elyria), and Walter Brown (of Toledo), who are holding out against the unmistakable trend of the rank and file, and in Columbus in the month of May there was a very complete reunion of the leaders of the Progressive movement of 1912. So it seems that the skeleton organization of the Progressive party at least is very lively and trouble-threatening in that commonwealth.

The candidacy of Burton, of Ohio, for the Presidency is greeted with a smile, except on the part of some of his actual delegates, who are serious, even grave, about it. But there is really in the Republican organization more natural and jovial sentiment for United States Senator Harding, of Marion, who is the keynoter of the Republican Convention. Harding is more of a hail-fellow kind than Burton, and represents better the rubicund, smooth countenance, the silver voice, the impressive front, the hand-in-the-bosom type of political leader and orator of the old Ohio sort, than Burton, who is scholarly, serious, and has been too much opposed to the improving of the Ohio River foolishly at Cincinnati. It is hoped by Harding's supporters that, as the result of his speech and because of his handsome figure in the eyes of the delegates, Harding may prove another Garfield when the ice begins to move out at the Convention.

Ohio is not clearly for anybody for the Presidency. In the north the Burton following will be likely to go to Root next. In the center and the south they would like to try Harding, and then either Hughes or Roosevelt. The Republican organization in Cincinnati is not so unfriendly to Roosevelt, whom they regard as naturally a good organization man, but of course the German constituency there would, at least in advance, view his candidacy with infinite alarm. The wisest political head in Cincinnati made it clear to me that Roosevelt, if nominated by the Republicans, would get on election day at least eighty per cent of the regular Republican vote even in that most unpromising of all Roosevelt localities.

As elsewhere in Ohio and the Middle West, so in Cincinnati there is a saving remnant interested in National preparation against trouble, but the conviction has not struck deep. Perhaps the most distinguished pro-American in the city, at the head of one of the great manufacturing firms, told me that he had given two hundred and fifty of his men in the offices a chance to go to Plattsburg this summer, and only eleven had accepted it. The same offer was made by the First National Bank and nobody had accepted it. Underneath, I judge, this is not because of any ultra-pacifist sentiment of importance, but is the result of inertia, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, with a large class, a feeling against preparedness to get into the war against Germany. The same persons would have no objection to preparedness against Mexico or Japan. There is some pacifist sentiment of the Ford sort, however. Herbert Bigelow, an independent religious and political leader of the city, announced only the day before the primaries that he had decided to vote for Ford, and two thousand followed him in writing in the great pacifist's name. And one of the Bigelow group assured me that a purely pacifist ticket would get a very considerable following in Cincinnati on election day.

Dayton, Ohio, is at present a most flourishing and interesting city, having largely recovered from the disastrous flood of 1913. It is at present a heavy munitions center. There are thousands of Germans in the city, and more thousands of Hungarians. The difference in the attitude of these two groups is marked. The Germans have been bitter and threatening in their attitude towards the native element who, in the newspaper field and elsewhere, have latterly cast neutrality to the winds and defended the course of the Government at Washington against Germany, or at least have shown pro-Ally sympathy. I saw some of these threatening letters. The Germans have refused to work in munitions factories, but the Hungarians have freely and gladly gone into the very profitable wage field of munition-making, even though the product of their toil was to be turned against their friends and relatives in the homeland. There is no such national feeling for Austria as the Germans exhibit for the Fatherland.

President Wilson has very strong backing in Ohio, and particularly in Dayton. It is the center of wise and able Democratic leadership in the commonwealth. I found that these strong friends of the President believe

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that, while his Administration does not strongly appeal to the public imagination, Mr. Wilson has great reserve strength, and can be counted to call upon it for all it is worth in the campaign. I found great faith in the President as a campaigner. The chief concern of his friends seemed to be, not about his German policy, but about his Mexican policy. They seemed to think that the people of Ohio are more restive about that, even the Democrats, than about anything else. They feel that the time has come to strengthen the policy at the border; that as it is becoming more and more evident that the Carranza experiment is failing, the President must very shortly consider the advisability of a firm, even if restricted, programme of intervention, and that, when the President really goes in, he must say nothing at all about how long he is going to stay there or how far he is to go in the intervention. But he must stay there until the work is accomplished. I have the impression that this is the virile Democratic view, and that we may see the tide of policy at Washington turn in this direction before many weeks. Certainly, politically Mexico is the weak spot upon the map for the Wilson Administration in the estimation of the whole country. Men deride that who are far more cautious about what they regard as the much graver peril of mixing in the European imbroglio.

Here I came upon the question which the Democrats will put to Justice Hughes if he shall be nominated by the Republicans—"What would you have done that Wilson has not done?" My Democratic friends also venture a prophecy as to what sort of a scene we shall observe at the Republican Convention in Chicago. They agreed that the block of Old Guard delegates were of the sort that could be counted on to sit still for three days and read the newspapers in the midst of the most violent stampeding tendencies of the occasion. But, they said, it was the sight of the New York delegation doing just that at Baltimore in 1912 which finally nominated Woodrow Wilson. These Democratic friends felt that nothing could stem the tide at Chicago ultimately towards either Hughes or Roosevelt.

When I reached Columbus, the capital of Ohio, I learned that the Democrats have been far more astute in their handling of the Progressives than the Republicans. Under the administration of Democratic Governor Cox much was done to conciliate the Progressive leader and voter. Very little has been done under the present Republican administration in Ohio, in marked contrast to the attitude of the Fairbanks organization in Indiana. As a consequence, the Progressive party vote is by no means committed to the Republican column in Ohio. On National issues I should expect Wilson to get a considerable slice. I heard an unusual amount of talk in Ohio about the necessity of placating Mr. Roosevelt if the Republicans were planning to win. In 1904 Roosevelt carried the State by two hundred and fifty-six thousand. He has always been able to command a great many Democratic votes in Ohio. Probably the most impartial political critic in the State told me that the statistics indicated that about eighty thousand Democrats voted for Roosevelt in 1912.

And, finally, in my journey I came to Cleveland, that mighty conglomerate city by the Lakes. In the heart of the Western Reserve, it was founded by blue-nosed Yankees. But the transformation is complete. The foreign tide has flowed over all. There are ten different nationalities represented there, several hundred thousand of whom are South Europeans. The greatest boon which has befallen Cleveland, so men of all varieties of opinion were forced to admit, was the educational value of Mayor Tom L. Johnson. I am not speaking of the view of the men who idolized Johnson—there were many of them. I mean the impartial judges. Some of them were free to say that, in the choice of means, Johnson in business and politics belonged in some respects to the primitive period of public struggle. But there was no question anywhere that the net result of his life and service had been profoundly for good upon the whole future of the city of Cleveland.

There is a sitting statue in bronze of Johnson, cast by the Tiffany Studios in New York, recently set up in the spot in the public square which he, when Mayor, dedicated to free discussion. Johnson died at fifty-seven. The carved sentiments upon the base of the statue indicate the feeling and conviction of the city:

"He found us groping, leaderless, and blind,
He left a city with a civic mind.

He found us striving, each his selfish part,
He left a city with a civic heart.

Beyond his party and beyond his class,
This man forsook the few to serve the mass."

"Erected by popular subscription in memory of the man who gave his fortune and his life to

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make Cleveland, as he often expressed it, 'a happier place to live in, a better place to die in.'"

Johnson's influence must long be taken into account in reckoning up political conviction in Cleveland. One of the sturdiest and ablest opponents of Johnson told me that the radical rush of the Johnson programme had been so tempered and balanced by the public service of the chief Johnson lieutenant, Newton D. Baker, now Secretary of War and for two terms Mayor of Cleveland, that there is very little belief anywhere that the Johnson reforms were not worthy, indeed greatly worth while. Newton D. Baker seems to be the most popular man in Cleveland, and because of his influence in the councils of President Wilson, and also because of his great ability as a public speaker, is likely to be one of the determining factors in the campaign, particularly in the State of Ohio. The great city of Cleveland is full of independence following the careers of Johnson and Baker, and is likely to give Wilson a heavy vote.

I talked carefully with leading representatives of the stand-patter attitude of Republicanism in Cleveland, among others with men who are delegates to the National Convention. They assured me that the safety-first view would prevail, that the sober-minded representatives are in no danger of being carried off their feet. There need be no solicitude, said they, about the Convention's taking the Roosevelt view, which is too violent in the present emergency, as it was four years ago. Of course, said they, he would not be violent if he were nominated. We are against him, but we know that. He would say, "Now that the people are aroused, let us do the wise and adequate thing." It is no time to rush into great preparation. Any possible opponent in Europe will be exhausted, and it is the time to go to him and urge a plan that shall not involve vast burden and passion. The League to Enforce Peace idea will prevail at the Chicago Convention, we think. Burton or Root is the natural candidate. It is too bad that the election is coming so soon. If it could only come after the war, they say, we should understand far better what we need. This is undoubtedly the intelligently conservative Republican note of the more or less pacific stand-patter of northern Ohio.

But I ran into a robust type of militant stand-patter also. In his office the picture of Cannon on the one hand and Taft on the other flanked the portrait of Abraham Lincoln. He was much exercised over the listlessness of Cleveland about National preparation, and what he conceived to be the lack of patriotism on the part of labor. He quoted a conversation he had recently heard as one laboring man said to another: "What difference does it make to me whether I live here under the Government of England or Germany or the United States? Wages will be high or low all the same, and it will make no difference to me." "There is something wrong," he said, "with the country. We are not ready for much of anything in the way of trouble. A thousand Germans with a small screen of cavalry and a little artillery could march through Ohio from one end to the other and nothing could stop them." He said he had never forgiven Roosevelt for 1912 and he never would. I asked him if men who felt as he did would carry their resentment to the polls. He answered, "Well, I should say so."

I listened quietly to the conversation of a good many groups during my travel. Talk gravitates naturally towards National issues and leadership as the time of the Convention approaches. But I have been impressed with the aridness and superficiality of much of the discussion. I would really like to know what the "forgotten citizen" has in mind. Then we should be better able to predict the outcome. But nobody knows. Is the "forgotten citizen" warmly disposed towards Wilson? The President has been striving earnestly against war. He has a right to expect the recompense and reward of that course. Will he get it? We have a long record in democracies of benefits forgot, and republics are proverbially ungrateful. What are the peace-loving Republicans going to do? That was Bryan's question to Wilson the other day in the "Commoner," when he called attention to the fact that we have a minority President. Wilson has lost the German Democrats and must so act as to reach the peace-loving Republicans, said Bryan. Can he reach them? Nobody knows. As the reputed best reader of public opinion in Ohio said to me: "We are just between hay and grass. The folks are now in a mood where they think that things are going to be looked after for them. Nobody knows how and nobody cares. But the folks wil criticise all right after it is over."

Cleveland, Ohio.

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WANTED: AMERICAN SHIPS[1]

BY WILLIAM G. McADOO

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

WHY is it necessary to our commerce to have a merchant marine under the American flag?

We are one of the greatest industrial and producing nations on earth. We must have foreign markets to absorb our surplus products. Without them we shall have stagnation and depression and idleness and want. To secure our share of the open markets, such as Central and South America and the Orient, we must compete with other leading industrial nations of the world, such as Great Britain, Germany, and France. If we have to depend on their ships to carry our goods in competition with them to South America and the Orient, they will naturally favor British or German or French merchants, as the case may be, both in rates and service, as against American merchants. We have no control over or power to regulate these foreign steamship lines, or to prevent them from discriminating against our interests. If we have American ships, their first interest is to build up and extend American business, just as the first interest of the British ships is to build up British business, and the German ships to build up German business. After the European war is ended competition for the open markets of the world will be more intense than ever. We must have every facility that our competitors have if we are to get an even chance.

Having few American ships in the foreign trade, we are dependent to-day on the flag of Great Britain for the carriage of the greatest part of our commerce. She is at war. She must use her ships for her own necessities first, as a matter of course. She cannot supply us with the ships we need for our own commerce, and the longer the war lasts the less she can do for us. The German flag, our other chief reliance, has disappeared from the seas. If Great Britain's control of the sea should be destroyed or seriously impaired, it would react disastrously on our trade and general situation. As an economic question, are we justified in relying upon the ships of any foreign flag to protect our vital interests, especially when the nation upon whose ships we depend is, or may be, engaged in great wars?

The risk is too great for any first-class Power to take. We have no right to hazard the fortunes and the welfare and the safety of our country on such a chance. Already we are too close to the awful European conflict, although we are at peace with every belligerent. Let us secure our safety, physical and economic, by doing what is necessary to be done, and what we are so able financially and otherwise to do. We are, moreover, paying to foreign steamship lines more than $300,000,000 per year, when, by having our own ships, we could pay them for this service, and build up a merchant marine which will profit our people in time of peace and serve our country in time of war.

The terrible events of the past year and a half in Europe and the acute situations which have arisen in our foreign relations have brought forcibly to the front the necessity for greater naval and military preparedness than our people have heretofore believed to be necessary for the National safety. Our "splendid isolation," upon which we have relied so much in the past as our chief protection, has been neutralized in great measure by the developments of modern science. Wireless telegraphy and wireless telephony, aeroplanes, fast steamships, powerful battleships, long-range guns, high explosives, and submarines which can cross the Atlantic and Pacific have awakened us to a realization of the fact that the great ocean barriers have largely disappeared. The most indispensable factor in any sensible plan of National defense is a powerful navy, capable of striking with effect both offensively and defensively, supplied with essential naval auxiliaries in the form of an American merchant marine, and manned by American seamen who are ready and willing to fight for the Stars and Stripes against any enemy on the face of the earth.

What is a naval auxiliary? It is a fleet of merchant vessels so constructed that they may render essential service and assistance to our battle-ships and cruisers in time of war and serve the needs of our commerce in time of peace. We cannot with safety rely upon our ability to purchase or charter suitable naval auxiliaries when a crisis appears. The very essence of preparedness for the navy is to have these vessels of suitable types

[1] See editorial comment on this subject on another page.—THE EDITORS.

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and construction where we can put our hands on them quickly. We have not to-day under the American flag sufficient vessels to give our navy, in case of war, the support and assistance which are indispensable to its efficiency. I am informed by the Navy Department that we could draw from our present merchant marine approximately 700,000 gross tonnage of vessels that could be converted into naval auxiliaries. This leaves us with a deficiency of about 500,000 gross tonnage to meet the needs of our navy as it stands to-day, and without allowing for growth.

Our neglect to provide in the past the necessary naval auxiliaries gives us, however, one great advantage. By building them now we can develop a type that will be better than anything the world has yet produced. The merchant marines of our leading rivals are in most respects composed of old ships with obsolete equipment. We can build new ships of modern equipment, constructed with special reference to navy uses, commercial requirements, and economical operation, that will be superior to anything that naval and marine architecture have yet turned out.

The Government should proceed immediately with the construction of these auxiliaries as a part of the programme of preparedness. The vessels should be designed by the best marine and naval architects in the country. I wish to emphasize the importance of building these ships in American ship-yards and in our navy-yards. It is just as important a part of naval preparedness to have adequate ship-yards for the purpose of constructing and repairing vessels as it is to have the vessels themselves and the men to man them. We must pursue an intelligent system of building up our ship-yards and our navy-yards as a part of the vital problem of naval preparedness.

I imagine that there can be no difference of opinion as to the desirability of increasing our foreign trade. I believe that we shall all agree that the prosperity of this country depends upon the maintenance and expansion of our foreign commerce. What could more clearly prove this than the experience through which the Nation has recently passed and is now passing? When the European war broke out, the first result was a complete disorganization of exchange and international credits, a dislocation of all foreign commerce, and its almost complete stoppage for several months. The effect upon our internal situation was immediate and dangerous. In all of our leading ports there was great congestion of grain, cotton, and supplies of all kinds, with corresponding injury and depression throughout the country. This was followed by a period of gradual loosening up, of restoration of confidence and credits, until now the orders from foreign nations have so stimulated our foreign trade that our industries are running full time and there is a demand for all of our surplus products, particularly the products of the farms. Our only difficulty is a lack of ship tonnage, which is preventing our exports from being greater than they are.

If the volume of our foreign trade should continue to be even as great as now, it would mean a long period of unusual prosperity in this country; but when peace is restored in Europe there will be a decreased demand for many of our products. It will be necessary to substitute markets which are now available and practically untouched by us if we are to preserve our prosperity unchecked. I refer to the markets of South America and the Orient. If we take these markets while we have the chance, we can establish unparalleled prosperity in this country. We have by reason of the Federal Reserve system so organized and consolidated our credit resources that we now have the financial strength to extend our commerce wherever it will go. Our one and indispensable need is ships—merchant ships of American registry.

The question now arises as to how these merchant marine naval auxiliaries can be operated with the greatest benefit to the country. It must be borne in mind that a really useful naval auxiliary should consist of fast passenger and cargo ships as well as ordinary cargo ships. The combined passenger and cargo ships would be suitable for operation on specific routes, such as lines running to Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile, and to the Orient, touching at Honolulu and the leading ports in Japan, China, and the Philippines. We should not, however, establish regular steamship lines where sufficient and satisfactory service has been established by American companies operating ships under American registry. The ordinary cargo ships could be used in any and all parts of the world, and in such manner as will be most beneficial to the commerce of the country.

To bring about these results a shipping

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board should be created consisting of the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of Commerce as members *ex officio*, and three members to be selected by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Congress should appropriate and put into the hands of this board a fund of $50,000,000. This would be sufficient to create a naval auxiliary of suitable merchant ships of from four hundred thousand to five hundred thousand gross tons. This board should have authority to establish as quickly as possible steamship lines to the east and west coasts of South America and to the Orient. It should have authority to organize a corporation or corporations and to subscribe to the capital stock thereof in whole or in part to carry out the objects in view. It should also have the power to lease or charter ships to responsible individuals, firms, or corporations under such conditions as the board may deem best. This would put in the hands of the board a mobile fleet of vessels which could be used in any part of the world and under conditions that would enable them to meet any emergency that might arise anywhere with respect to our commerce.

The shipping board should have power to reform our navigation rules and regulations; to study shipping problems and recommend to Congress the necessary legislation to encourage and develop a great merchant marine under the American flag. The time has come when the Congress should consider the creation of some instrumentality for the regulation of merchant marine companies. As it stands to-day, no ocean transportation company is subject to the least regulation or control by the Government. Marine companies operate their ships, change their sailings, or discontinue the operation of their ships when and as they please, and regardless of the rights of shippers. They fix rates and change rates without notice, arbitrarily and in total disregard of the rights of shippers. They determine what cargo they will or will not carry, and discriminate in favor of one shipper against another.

The shipping board should also have the power, acting in conjunction with the Inter-State Commerce Commission, to arrange for the issuance of through bills of lading between our railway lines and steamship lines operating under the American flag in the foreign trade, and to provide the means whereby special through rates can be made between our railways and steamship lines to enable them to meet competition of foreign carriers in the open markets of the world. I am sure that plans and regulations of this character, if properly worked out, would give our shippers and business men the opportunity of largely increasing their business in foreign markets by putting them in better position to meet competition.

The Shipping Bill introduced in the last Congress is different in some details from the plan here suggested, but that bill was introduced in September, 1914, just after the war had begun, when it was necessary to move swiftly for the protection of American business interests. Even that measure would have been of inestimable service to the country had it passed, because there was a superabundance of purchasable ship tonnage which could have been bought at that time and used with immense benefit to American commerce during the past year.

American business has paid dearly for the defeat of that measure. I am sure that the increased and extortionate ocean freight rates paid by our defenseless producers and shippers in the past twelve months have exceeded several times the $40,000,000 which the Shipping Bill authorized the Government to expend on merchant vessels. But this is only a small part of the injury. Grave losses have been sustained by our business men because they could not ship at all.

No classes of our people are more vitally concerned in adequate steamship lines to deliver our products to foreign markets than our farmers and laboring men.

Our farmers have always produced more than they could sell in our home markets. This is notably true of grain and cotton. We depend absolutely upon foreign markets for the disposition of our farm surplus. To show the magnitude and importance of our foreign trade in farm products, I need only call attention to the fact that for the fiscal year 1915 our total exports were $2,716,178,465, of which the total crude and manufactured farm products represented $1,616,687,466, or more than fifty-nine per cent of our total exports. If steamship facilities are inadequate, the farmer has added difficulty if he is not to a large extent actually prevented from getting his surplus products to foreign markets. Moreover, he is a great sufferer from exorbitant freight rates.

Because of the lack of American ships and the scarcity of ocean tonnage generally ocean freight rates in the Atlantic have been extor-

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tionately high. The normal rate of 4 cents per bushel for grain from New York to Liverpool has been increased to 40 cents per bushel. I do not have to argue with any intelligent farmer that he gets less for his grain on the farm when it costs 40 cents per bushel to ship it from New York to Liverpool than when it costs only 4 cents per bushel for the same service. The cotton producer in the South has suffered to a greater degree. Ocean freight rates on cotton have gone as high as $15 per bale from Galveston to Europe, as against $2.50 per bale prior to the war. Our farmers, because they produce the bulk of our wealth as well as the bulk of our exports, ought to be protected against extortionate freight rates, and ought to have the assurance of sufficient steamship service and reasonable rates to secure fair treatment and enable them at all times to compete in the open markets with their rivals in the other great farm producing regions of the world.

How is the laboring man affected? Labor on the farm is interested for the reasons already given about the farmer, but the laboring man in our great industrial plants is likewise deeply concerned in this subject. We exported in the fiscal year 1915 manufactured products, other than farm products, $843,699,562, or thirty-one per cent of our total export trade for that year. As our manufacturers are put in position to compete in the open markets of the world with their great industrial rivals of other nations, labor will be employed in this country more regularly and at higher wages. Wide fluctuations in industrial conditions hurt the laboring man more than any other because they frequently force upon him periods of idleness. If our manufacturers are put in position to take their share of the world's markets, as they can be through the creation of a naval auxiliary merchant marine, it will help to bring about stable conditions in the great industries of this country, with steady and remunerative employment for labor and stabilized prosperity for our manufacturers.

What is the real fight in this merchant marine controversy? It is a fight for subsidies. What are subsidies? They are gifts from the United States Treasury to favored corporations, firms, and individuals who operate ships. Why should we give away millions of dollars of the people's money each year to favored ship-owners over whose rates and service we have no control? Wouldn't it be more sensible for the Government to spend these millions in building up a splendid naval auxiliary merchant marine which can be controlled and operated in the interest of all the people? If we adopted the policy of subsidies, wouldn't corporations and individuals with the strongest and longest pull get most of the money, as they always have done when free money has been distributed by the Treasury in the good old days of special privileges? Of course every ship-owner and every ship monopolist want subsidies. They would profit by them and they are going to make a desperate fight for them.

But they can't succeed, because no Democratic Congress will pass a ship subsidy bill and no Democratic President will approve one. The Democratic party is in control of the Government and is pledged by its platform and record against subsidies. Why, then, contend for the impossible? Why not accept the only practical plan—the creation by the Government of a naval auxiliary merchant marine with the money the subsidists want the Government to give to them? The Democratic party declared in its platform for a merchant marine created by Constitutional methods. To build a naval auxiliary and use it to create a naval reserve of officers and men and to build up American commerce is a Constitutional method.

The claim is made that the Government should not provide the proposed steamship facilities because it will interfere with private enterprise. For the past fifty years the Government has given private capital the monopoly of the ocean transportation field. Private capital has failed to take advantage of its monopoly because it has not developed the necessary steamship lines. Should we continue any longer this monopoly in favor of private capital when it refuses to take advantage of it, and by so doing deprive our people of those facilities essential to their welfare and prosperity?

Shall this giant Nation, strong in resources, intelligence, and courage, sit impotently any longer and wait for indifferent private capital to build our naval auxiliaries and supply the marine facilities imperatively demanded for National preparedness and protection in time of war and for the welfare of our people and the promotion of our commerce in time of peace? We may as well ask private capital to build our navy or hesitate to have a navy unless we can operate it at a profit.

Let us think of our present opportunity,

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even disregarding necessities. Shall we or shall we not grasp the marvelous opportunity we now have to extend our trade throughout the world? This opportunity will not wait. Already we have lost invaluable time; we have lost ground we can never recover. We must move swiftly if we are going to take the place in the world's markets which some of our leading industrial competitors have been forced to abandon. If we do it now, we can establish ourselves so firmly that we cannot be dislodged upon the return of peace.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S RELIGION

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

MR. HENRY B. RANKIN, of Springfield, Illinois, at eighty years of age, has written "Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln" (G. P. Putnam's Sons). The title correctly describes the book, which is composed of scenes and incidents illustrative of Mr. Lincoln's character based on either the author's personal knowledge or on information derived from those who were personally familiar with Mr. Lincoln during the earlier years of his life. It deals, therefore, with Mr. Lincoln as a man rather than as a politician, and throws light on his public career chiefly because of the light which it throws on his personal character. It is personal, familiar, intimate, and to lovers of Lincoln is a valuable addition to the volumes which have been written about him. The chapter entitled "What Religion Meant to Abraham Lincoln" has a peculiar value, because it corrects a widely spread misapprehension respecting Mr. Lincoln's early religious views. Mr. W. H. Herndon, Mr. Lincoln's law partner and his devoted and intimate friend, in his "Life of Lincoln," has given currency to a story in confirmation of the statement that prior to Mr. Lincoln's election to the Presidency he was an avowed disbeliever in Christianity. Mr. Rankin's account of the origin of this story not only banishes it to the limbo to which such legends as Washington's "little hatchet" have been deported, but also furnishes apparently trustworthy information respecting Mr. Lincoln's early religious education, imbibed from his mother before her death, and his spiritual faith as well as his ethical standards.

What we may call the Herndon story was that Mr. Lincoln as a young man wrote an article against Christianity, that he read it to a friend, who took it from him and threw it into the fire. This story was used against him in a political campaign in 1846, in which Peter Cartwright, a famous Methodist minister, was his competitor for Congress, and was overwhelmingly defeated. The political canard which Cartwright accepted without investigation was so far discredited at the time that it operated against, rather than for, Cartwright. He subsequently denied its truth and affirmed Mr. Lincoln's Christian character. The origin of this story affords a curious illustration of how political canards sometimes grow.

A certain Mr. Hill wrote to his former partner, Mr. McNeil, a long letter, giving the reasons for Mr. Hill's abrupt termination of the partnership, in which letter he made a violent personal attack upon his former partner for becoming a successful rival in a suit for the hand of a certain young lady. This letter, accompanied with some invoices of goods, was dropped on the road, picked up by a boy, and given to Abraham Lincoln, who was a special favorite with the boys and was their confidant. Mr. Lincoln took it to Mr. Hill, who "flew into a towering rage over the disclosure of his private business affairs," snatched the package from Mr. Lincoln's hands, and threw it into the fire. By what unfortunate or malicious mischance this incident became connected with a religious manuscript, which Mr. Lincoln had written ten or twelve years before, Mr. Rankin does not explain. This manuscript is described by a friend of Mr. Lincoln's, to whom he read it, as an argument in defense of universal salvation. Says the writer of this letter, Mr. Menter Graham: "I remember well his argument. He took the passage, 'As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive,' and followed up with the proposition that whatever the breach or injury of Adam's transgression to the human race

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was, which no doubt was very great, it was made just and right by the atonement of Christ."

The Herndon story and its refutation would hardly be worth recording here were it not for the fact that it has furnished Mr. Rankin with the occasion for a description of a conversation between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Rankin's mother, which furnishes the clearest exposition of Mr. Lincoln's religious views we have ever seen. Mrs. Rankin was a friend both of Peter Cartwright and of Abraham Lincoln. As the result of the charges of infidelity brought against him in the Congressional campaign, she asked Lincoln as to his religious views. After a few moments of hesitation, he replied by saying that he would make no public denial of the charge preferred against him. "I will not," he said, "discuss the character and religion of Jesus Christ on the stump! That is no place for it, though my opponent, a minister of his Gospel, thinks it is." But he was willing to give his answer to Mrs. Rankin, with the understanding that his reply was not to be quoted nor the subject introduced by his friends in the pending Congressional campaign. Mr. Rankin then gives the entire statement of Mr. Lincoln as reported to him by his mother. Mr. Lincoln said:

"At the time you refer to I was having serious questionings about some portions of my former implicit faith in the Bible. The influence that drew me into such doubts were strong ones—men having the widest culture and strongest minds of any I had known up to that time. In the midst of those shadows and questionings, before I could see my way clear to decide on them, there came into my life sad events and a loss that you were close to and you knew a great deal about how hard they were for me, for you were, at the time, a mutual friend. Those days of trouble found me tossed amidst a sea of questionings. They piled big upon me, experiences that brought with them great strains upon my emotional and mental life. Through all I groped my way until I found a stronger and higher grasp of thought, one that reached beyond this life with a clearness and satisfaction I had never known before. The Scriptures unfolded before me with a deeper and more logical appeal, through these new experiences, than anything else I could find to turn to, or ever before had found in them.

"I do not claim that all my doubts were removed then, or since that time have been swept away. They are not. Probably it is to be my lot to go on in a twilight, feeling and reasoning my way through life, as questioning, doubting Thomas did. But in my poor maimed, withered way, I bear with me as I go on a seeking spirit of desire for a faith that was with him of the olden time, who, in his need, as I in mine, exclaimed: 'Help thou my unbelief.' . . .

"I doubt the possibility or propriety of settling the religion of Jesus Christ in the models of man-made creeds and dogmas. It was a spirit in the life that he laid stress on and taught, if I read aright. I know I see it to be so with me.

"The fundamental truths reported in the four Gospels as from the lips of Jesus Christ, and that I first heard from the lips of my mother, are settled and fixed moral precepts with me. I have concluded to dismiss from my mind the debatable wrangles that once perplexed me with distractions that stirred up, but never absolutely settled anything. I have tossed them aside with the doubtful differences which divide denominations—sweeping them all out of my mind among the non-essentials. I have ceased to follow such discussions or be interested in them.

"I cannot without mental reservations assent to long and complicated creeds and catechisms. If the Church would ask simply for assent to the Saviour's statement of the substance of the law: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself'—that Church would I gladly unite with."

If Mr. Rankin had rendered no other service by his book, we should be grateful to him for giving us this information at almost first hand respecting the character and experience of Abraham Lincoln, an experience in which a spiritual faith was combined with an intellectual honesty and a spirit of reverential reticence, a combination which furnished one of the secrets of his power as a leader of men in a great National crisis.

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BY THE WAY

June is the month when by far the largest number of birds of all species are raising their young, "American Forestry" tells its readers. It is also the month when the largest number of birds perish. The fledglings are killed by storms, by boys with slingshots or guns, and by marauding cats. Their worst enemy is the cat. Every owner of a cat should see that it is kept secluded at this time, and cats without owners should be mercifully exterminated. Only in this way can our native birds be conserved and attracted to our gardens.

Mauna Loa, the greatest active volcano in the world, is again in eruption. Nine years ago this Hawaiian volcano produced what is described as the most remarkable display of molten "fireworks" of modern times. Then, as on the present occasion, there was little or no loss of life, Mauna Loa's eruptions in this respect differing notably from the outbreaks of lesser volcanoes such as Vesuvius and Mont Pelée.

"Suddenly the awful thing happened! Before my eyes Ravanel, to whom I was roped, was sliding—sliding slowly but surely off the rocks into eternity!" So exclaims Miss Dora Keen in the "Saturday Evening Post" in telling of a perilous ascent of the "Shark's Tooth" in the Alps. "All at once I saw him wheel about; he gave a mighty heave of his ax as for his life and drove it into the snow above his head. The ax held. He had saved himself and us." Miss Keen found this a "deep spiritual experience," but most readers will breathe a sigh of relief when the party gets safely back to the hotel, and wonder why they ever left it to go on such an unnecessarily perilous expedition.

Coolness and resource in danger can be found in industrial life as well as in war. L. H. Beck, of Berkeley, California, as reported, was caught in some revolving machinery. Finding himself being dragged slowly into the cogs, he seized a knife and severed his mangled foot, thus freeing himself. He then applied a tourniquet and directed his transportation by launch and hand-car to a hospital.

Miss Emily McCoy, the daughter of the Governor of Pitcairn Island, is in America studying methods for helping her people, who some time ago were afflicted with the typhus plague. Pitcairn Island, it will be remembered, was settled by the mutineers of the ship Bounty, who, with a number of Tahitian women, went to that remote island in 1789 and remained undiscovered by the British authorities till 1814. Their descendants now number about 170.

Mr. Keene Abbott tells in "Harper's Magazine" some secrets of the Omaha Indian housewife's food supply and her labor-saving methods in getting it. The tubers of the pond-lily are delicious when roasted; the muskrat likes them raw, and she rifles his hoard; she gets the wood-rat's cache of wild plums, grapes, and choke-cherries, the vole's half-bushel of wild beans and hazel-nuts, and the shrew's store of wild peas and artichokes. All these go into the clay pot of the tepee-dweller, "and also the tuber of a certain sedge, the delectable ground-nut which may eventually become as popular as that other native vegetable, the peanut."

Aunt Polly, the "Ladies' Home Journal" says, did not care to mix politics with business, and her example may be profitable to some persistent talkers during the coming campaign. She was milking in the cow lot, and her politically excited son found her there. "Maw, you're a Democrat, ain't you?" he asked. She made no answer, but he persisted: "Say, Maw, ain't you a good Democrat?" Finally she said, emphatically: "I hain't nothin'. I'm a woman milkin' a cow. You go in the house and shut up!"

A group of thirty prisoners at Sing Sing have been trained by the physical department of the West Side Y. M. C. A. of New York to act as teachers of physical culture to their fellow-convicts. Great benefit is expected from this work, for men who have abundant physical exercise of a wholesome kind are far less likely to become vicious, sullen, or desperate than if they are required to sit inactive in their cells.

Illustrating Russian deliberation in business affairs, R. W. Child in "Everybody's" says that an American business man went to Petrograd to sell war goods which were badly needed. Instead of orders he received invitations to dinner, first from one high official, then another. After a week of this he said to the bureaucrat whose word was final, "Look here, this may be the Russian way; I will indulge in it if you wish, but the American way is to charge the cost of production and sales to the price. My expenses are large. Each day from now on I will add these charges to the price." He was as good as his word, and charged $400 a day extra till the negotiations were completed, ten days later, when he got his contract.

An English playwright apostrophizes the German admirers of Shakespeare thus: "Oh, well have you chosen 'Macbeth' for your Festival, German playgoers! . . . Ponder him deeply, now that at last the slow, immitigable might of England has begun to encompass you!" To which an unexpectedly clever German reply compares the English Lion to that of "Midsummer-Night's Dream:"

Smug: Have you the lion's part written? Pray you, if it be, give it me, for I am slow of study.

Quince: You may do it extempore, for it is nothing but roaring.

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